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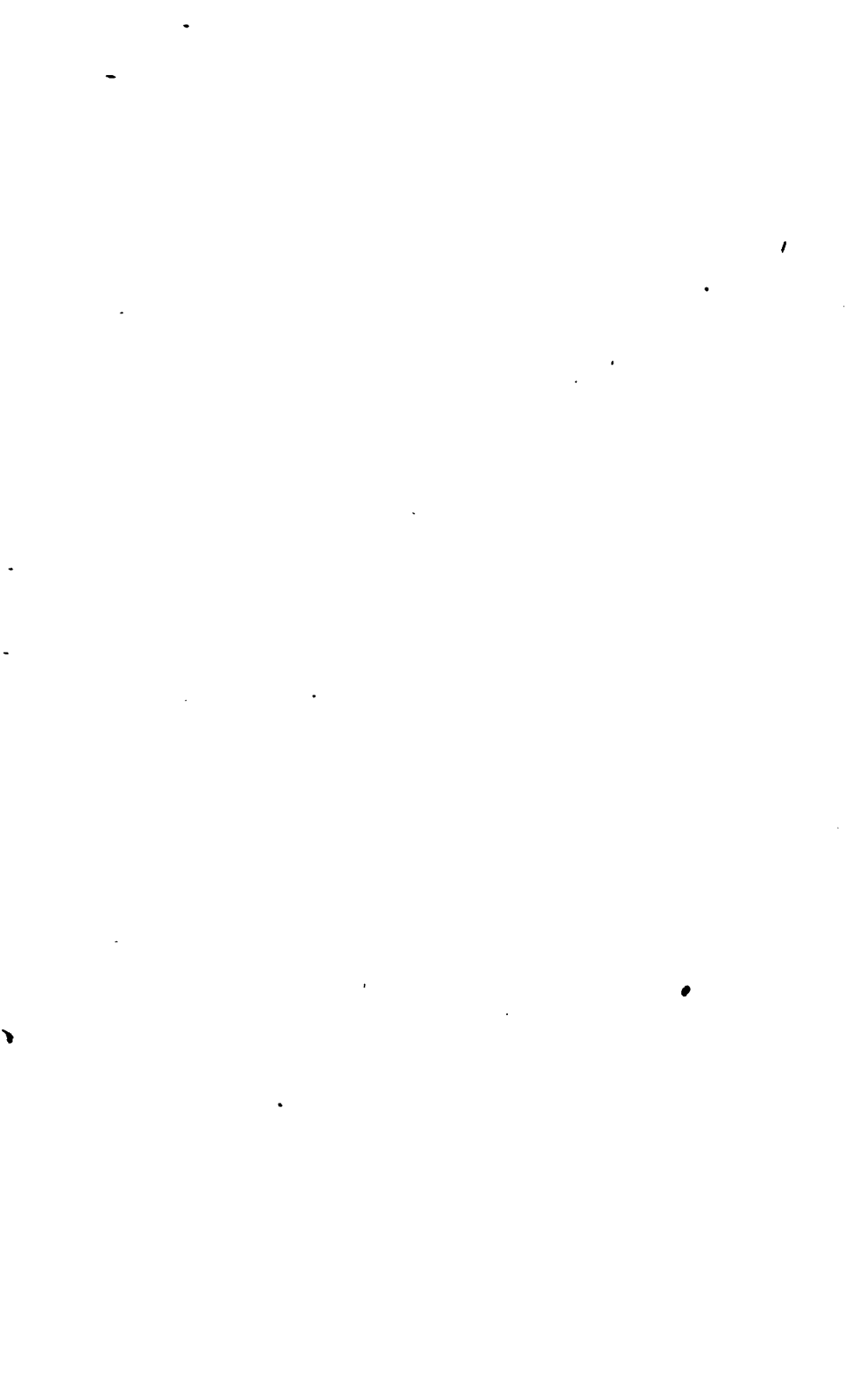
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THE LIFE OF
THOMAS KEN

BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS

BY A LAYMAN.

(John St. Aubertson)

PART I



SECOND EDITION REVISED AND ENLARGED

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.—1637 to 1656.

| | Page |
|--|------|
| B IRTH—Parentage—Brother in law to Izaak Walton —William of Wykeham, Founder of two Colleges of St. Mary at Winchester and Oxford—Ken En- tered at Winchester College—Elected to New Col- lege, Oxford. | 1 |

| | |
|---|----|
| CHAPTER II. —1656 to 1660.—Ken removes to Oxford—The state of the University under the Commonwealth—His Col- lege life—King Charles II. restored to the Throne . | 17 |
|---|----|

| | |
|--|----|
| CHAPTER III. —1661 to 1672.—Ken remains at Oxford after taking his Degree—Tutor of New College—Religious Discussions after the Restoration—Ken admitted to Holy Orders—Appointed to the living of Little Easton—Resigns that Cure—Made Chaplain to Bishop Morley—Fellow of Winchester College—Rector of Brightstone in the Isle of Wight—Prebendary of Winchester—Resigns Brightstone —Appointed to East Woodhay | 49 |
|--|----|

| | |
|---|----|
| CHAPTER IV. —1672.—Ken resigns the Rectory of Woodhay— His character as a Country Parson—Rev. Isaac Milles of Highclere—Character of Bishop Morley—Ken's duties at Winchester | 78 |
|---|----|

| | |
|---|-----|
| CHAPTER V. —1674.—Ken's Manual of Prayers for Winchester Scholars—His Morning, Evening, and Midnight Hymns— The Original Melody of the Hymns—The Court of Charles II. at Winchester | 103 |
|---|-----|

| | |
|---|-----|
| CHAPTER VI. —1674 to 1679.—Ken makes the Tour of Italy with Izaak Walton's son—At Rome in the year of Jubilee— Returns home—His attachment to the Church of England confirmed | 128 |
|---|-----|

| | Page |
|---|------|
| CHAPTER VII.—1679 to 1683.—Early life of William Prince of Orange—Delivers Holland from the power of Louis XIV.—Marries Princess Mary, niece of Charles II.—Ken Chaplain at the Hague—His faithfulness in the discharge of his office—He returns from the Hague—Appointed Chaplain to the King—His Funeral Sermon on Lady Margaret Maynard—The Court of Charles II. at Winchester—Ken refuses the use of his Prebendal house to Nell Gwyn . | 151 |
| CHAPTER VIII.—1683 and 1684.—Ken appointed Chaplain of the Fleet on the expedition to Tangier—Voyage—The vicious government of Tangier—Corrupt state of the Navy | 190 |
| CHAPTER IX.—1684 and 1685.—Ken returns to England—Death of Izaak Walton; and of Bishop Morley—Ken appointed to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells—Attends the death bed of Charles II. | 211 |
| CHAPTER X.—1685.—Accession of James II.—Early Measures of the King for the establishment of the Roman Catholic Religion—Ken's first visit to Wells—The Palace at Wells—His Sermon at Whitehall on the character of Daniel—Coronation of James II. | 247 |
| CHAPTER XI.—1685.—The Duke of Monmouth; his life and character—Invades England—Lands in the West of England—Defeated in the Battle of Sedgemoor—Cruelties of Lord Feverham, and Colonel Kirke—Ken's appeal to the King on behalf of the prisoners—Monmouth condemned to death—Ken attends him on the scaffold | 265 |
| CHAPTER XII.—1685 and 1686.—Ken's "Exposition of the Church Catechism"—"Directions for Prayer"—"Prayers for the use of Persons who come to the Baths"—Persecution of the French Huguenots—Ken's charitable disposition—His zeal in the Pastoral office | 300 |
| CHAPTER XIII.—1686 and 1687.—Measures of James II. for establishing Romanism—Ken's Pastoral Letter to his Clergy—His Sermon at Whitehall, upholding the Church of England—His boldness, and eloquence as a Preacher—The King's Declaration of Indulgence | 340 |
| CHAPTER XIV.—1687.—Ken's Sermon in the Abbey Church at Bath—The King touches for the Evil in the Abbey— | |

Contents.

vii

| | Page |
|--|------|
| Ken's conduct on the occasion—His letters to Archbishop Sancroft | 367 |
| CHAPTER XV.—1688.—The King perseveres in his measures for the establishment of Romanism—Ken's sermon at Whitehall, for which he is reproved by James—His firm reply . | 387 |
| CHAPTER XVI.—1688.—The King's Declaration of Indulgence—Order of Council to have it read in all Churches—Petition of Archbishop Sancroft, Ken, and five other Bishops against the Order. They are sent to the Tower—Birth of a Prince of Wales | 404 |





ERRATA.

- P. 3, note, *for* Nicholas, *read* Nicolas.
 4, note, line 8, *for* Gild, *read* Guild.
 12, line 7, *for* London, *read* Westminster.
 12, note, *for* Chichester, *read* Bath and Wells.
 43, line 15, *for* Tuam, *read* Armagh.
 86, line 1, *for* His second son, *read* One grandson.
 86, line 2, *for* his grandson, *read* another.
 94, note, line 1, *for* Bishops, *read* Bishop.
 101, note, *for* Gardner's *read* Gauden's, and *for* Browning, *read*
 Brownrigg.
 151, line 14, *for* daughter, *read* niece.
 171, note, *dele* commas *after* sacramenta *and* faciendi, and *for* faltan,
 read faltem.
 189, note, *for* Reynell, *read* Rennell.
 259, note, *for* form and beauty, *read* force and beauty.
 416, note, line 6, *for* Lampleugh, *read* Lamplugh.
 416, note, line 10, *for* vol. i. *read* vol. x.

ERRATA.


- P. 442, note, *for* the leading counsel, *read* one of the leading counsel.
 582, note, *for* Sir John Trelawney, *read* Sir Jonathan Trelawney.
 597, note, *for* Hodge, *read* Hody.
 604, line 18, *for* Hooper, *read* Hooker.
 608, note, *for* Creeck, *read* Creech.
 622, line 19, *for* gardner, *read* gardener.
 785, line 21, *for* makes, *read* made.
 792, note, *for* Curcellæi, *read* Curcellæi.



Life of Thomas Ken.

CHAPTER I.

Birth — Parentage — Brother-in-law to Izaak Walton — William of Wykeham Founder of two Colleges of St. Mary at Winchester and Oxford—Ken entered at Winchester College—Elected to New College, Oxford.

HE birth of Thomas Ken “gilds the humble name” of Little Berkhamstead, a retired village in Hertfordshire. It is stated by his earliest biographer,* who has some title to be thought accurate, that he was born in July, 1637;†—a time of trouble and disorder in England, when the beginning of the Rebellion, and religious disputes were undermining the social virtues. Her decline among nations began, and was well nigh effected, under the disastrous reign of

* A short account of the Life of the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas Ken, sometime Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells: by (his great nephew) William Hawkins, of the Middle Temple, Esq. 8vo. 1713, p. 1.

† It would appear from the original indenture of his election to Winchester College, that his birth-day was the 20th October. The Parish Register is lost. See Life of Ken, by J. H. Markland, D.C.L., 2nd edition, 1849, 12mo. p. 47.

the Stuarts, and in the eventful lifetime of Ken. Not to enter into historical details, in which he was too young to take any part, it may be sufficient to say, that he was nurtured in an age when men of loyal and reverential minds were struggling in a resolute defence of the Church and of Monarchy. He was early trained to see the evil consequences of violent feuds,—to distinguish between abstract theories, and practical wisdom. His spirit was disciplined to suffer all things for conscience' sake, especially in maintaining the purity of religion. We shall see hereafter how effectually he had learned to hold an even balance between allegiance to the Crown, and unshaken fidelity to the Church.

He was the youngest son of Mr. Thomas Ken, of Furnival's Inn, an attorney in the Court of Common Pleas, of an ancient Somersetshire family,* by a second wife, Martha, daughter of the Poet, John Chalkhill. It is recorded of Chalkhill, that "he was in his time a man generally known, and as well beloved; for he was humble and obliging in his behaviour, a gentleman, a scholar, very innocent and prudent; and indeed his

* They had in former times "possessed a very plentiful fortune for many generations, having been known by the name of the Kens, of Ken Place, an estate now in the possession of the Right Honourable Earl Poulett, who descends from an heiress of the Kens."—Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 1. In a list of the possessors of land of most note in Somersetshire, in the time of Edward I., occurs the name of Richard de Ken. Ken Court (or Place) is near Yatton, in Somersetshire. The arms of the family were ermine, three crescents, gules, the crest three crescents interlaced, argent. *The History and Antiquities of Somersetshire*, by the Rev. W. Phelps, 1836, vol. i. Introduction, p. 33; vol. ii. pp. 132, 133. *Life of Thomas Ken*, by the Rev. W. L. Bowles, 1830, vol. i. p. 3. *Collinson's History of Somerset*, vol. iii. p. 592.

whole life was useful, quiet, and virtuous.”* These qualities, and his poetic genius, endeared him to Edmund Spenser. He was a Fellow of Winchester College, and author of those joyous songs † which have so often cheered careless lovers of the angle, by the side of their mountain streams, and rocks, and waterfalls.

Ken was not yet four years old when his mother died, ‡ and therefore could not know the full depth of such a bereavement. But this almost irreparable loss was in some measure supplied by his half-sister Anne, who was then about thirty years of age. She was “a woman of remarkable prudence, and of the primitive piety: her great and general knowledge was adorned with true humility, and blest with much Christian meekness.” This was the praise given to Anne Ken by one of the greatest lovers of truth,—Izaak Walton, “honest Izaak,” as he was familiarly termed by Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester. His well known “*COMPLETE ANGLER; or Contemplative Man’s Recreation*,” although unpretending in its subject, so abounds in pathos, and in Christian reverence, as to place him

* Izaak Walton’s preface to Chalkhill’s Poem of Thealma and Clearchus. May 7, 1678.

† “Oh, the sweet contentment
The countryman doth find,” &c.

And
“Oh, the gallant fisher’s life,
It is the best of any,” &c.

Walton’s *Complete Angler*, Pickering’s edit. royal 8vo. vol. i. p. 125, and vol. ii. p. 258.

‡ She was buried the 19th March, 1640-1. See the pedigree of the Ken family in the Appendix to Sir Harris Nicholas’s *Life of Izaak Walton*, prefixed to Pickering’s edition of the *Complete Angler*, royal 8vo. 1830.

high on the list of our moral writers. In harmony of language, in freshness of rural scenery, and truthfulness to nature, many passages of this book have all the charm of poetry.

The character he has drawn of a true Angler is so merry-hearted, yet so innocent, so simple, yet so instructed in polite learning, so loyal and brave, that he is a pattern of the Christian gentleman. Few works in our language breathe a more devout and temperate spirit, than his lives of Dr. Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Richard Hooker, George Herbert, and Bishop Sanderson.

The union of Izaak Walton with Anne Ken in 1646, gave to Thomas Ken, at nine years of age, the right to call him his elder brother Izaak. Guided by his precepts through the paths of early life, he was trained up in Christian principles, and taught to bear with the infirmities of others, to inform their judgments, and win them to the love of Christ. The value of this alliance was enhanced to Ken in 1651, when he was not yet fourteen years of age, by the death of his father,*—an event which imposed on Walton the respon-

* The will of Thomas Ken, the father, dated 12th April, 1651, shows that he was a man of religious mind. "First, and principally," he says, "I bequeathe my soule into the hands of Almighty God, who gave it me, and my body I commit to the earth from whence it came, to be buried in such decent manner as shall seeme best to my executors." He left three sons, John, Ion, and Thomas, and three married daughters, Anne Walton, Jane Symonds, and Martha Beacham. He describes himself as a citizen of London, and a member of the ancient Gild of "Barber Chirurgions," and mentions that he had bestowed on his son-in-law, John Symonds, "a place in the Circuite of South Wales to the value of forty marks *per annum*, or thereabout," from which we may infer that he was a man of some influence in his profession.

fibility of a parental watchfulness over the young orphan. His faithful discharge of this duty found its reward; for Ken, in his turn, became the instructor of Walton's son, who was afterwards a Canon of Salisbury Cathedral.

It does not appear that Walton imparted to Ken any portion of his love for angling, or persuaded him to follow the examples of Dean Nowell, George Herbert, and other "ornaments of the art." We may believe, however, that he instilled into his opening mind just views of the privilege and dignity of Holy Orders; for in due time he resolved to follow the painful footsteps of the Apostles St. Peter and St. John,—and so become a patient and hopeful "fisher of men."

It is doubtful at what period, or where, he first entered on his course of "grammar-learning:" few memorials have been preserved to us of those early years, when lasting impressions for good or evil are stamped on our pliable nature. His whole life assures us that he was from a child, like young Timothy, trained up in prayer and study of the Holy Scriptures. This is confirmed by a passage in his own poems, which shows an affectionate and thankful sense of the care that was taken of him:

"E'er since I hung upon my mother's breast,
Thy love, my God, has me sustain'd and blest;
My virtuous Parents, tender of their Child,
My Education pious, careful, mild:
My Teachers zealous to well-form my mind,
My faithful Friends, my Benefactors kind;" &c.*

Doubtless he was early initiated in the Catechism:

* Ken's Poetical Works, vol. iii. p. 149.

for, conscious of the blessings he had himself derived from this, he was no sooner made a Bishop, than he composed his "Exposition on the Church Catechism, or PRACTICE OF DIVINE LOVE." Of this we shall have to speak hereafter: at present it is not too much to say, that if he had never written anything else, it would justly entitle him to our grateful memory.

It was intended that Ken should be placed at Winchester School, founded by William of Wykeham, whose piety consecrated all his wealth to noble works for the glory of God. His two Colleges of St. Mary, at Winchester, and New College, Oxford, are lasting memorials of his zeal. They were wholly designed, and endowed by himself, for the perpetual maintenance of poor scholars, to be instructed in theology and classical learning. By these he intended to secure to the Church in all ages a succession of holy men to administer the solemn rites of religion.

Wykeham, though born to a humble station, was gifted with a high genius, and became the ornament of his age. He was Architect to Edward III. Being employed as Surveyor of the Works at Windsor Castle, he displayed such a singular combination of excellent qualities, that the King raised him to the greatest offices of the State. He was made Secretary, Keeper of the Privy Seal, President of the Council, and Chancellor. In 1367 he was elected Bishop of Winchester.* "He was so great with the Kynge, that all thyng was done by hym, and without him nothyng done."†

* Lowth's *Life of Wykeham*, p. 40.

† Froissart, vol. ix. ch. ccliv. fo. cxlviii. Ed. 1523.

He has left us a bright example of watchfulness and fidelity both in ecclesiastical and secular rule. Entrusted with ten talents, he accounted himself but a steward of God's bounties, employing them all in His holy service. He repaired and beautified the Churches throughout his Diocese,—enlarged and richly endowed the Hospital of St. Cross, and other charitable foundations ;—he reformed the rules and conduct of religious orders, and made contending Bishops to be of one mind. The restoration of Winchester Cathedral was the crowning testimony of his munificence and piety ;—this monument of his skill in architecture is a noble work, seemingly beyond the powers of one man to accomplish. By his last will* he endeavoured even in death to prolong the example of a whole life, spent in works of charity.

In founding his College at Winchester, Wykeham knew that without a code of fixed rules, based on the supreme love of God, his plan would want the elements of lasting success. He therefore bestowed the greatest pains in framing statutes for every department of school discipline ;—for the election and removal of the scholars, for regulating their dress, studies, dormitories, games and punishments, for their comfort in sickness, and their provision in health. Even the times of opening and shutting the gates did not escape his watchful care. He directed how they shall sit at dinner, how during the meal one of the scholars shall

* Dated July 4, 1403: "His will and a codicil contain nearly 230 separate bequests, to the value of about 7000*l.*, attesting his piety, gratitude, affection, and benevolence." William of Wykeham and his Colleges ; by Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, 8vo. 1852, p. 92.

read aloud a portion of the Bible, or some other holy book, "*quem in silentio epulantes audiant, et diligenter auscultent*;" and how, after saying grace, they shall go quietly out of hall, except on high festivals in winter, when they may remain to enjoy themselves over the fire, in singing, or reading poems and histories, or in other recreations, "*quæ Clericalem statum condecorant*."

Above all, he provided for their daily attendance in Chapel, where they are commanded to join reverently in the appointed services, and in the observance of the Church festivals, chanting of psalms, &c. "So much care is taken," says Ken, "to make the youths good Christians, as well as good scholars, and they go so frequently to prayers, every day in the Chapel, and in the school, singing hymns and psalms to God so frequently in their chamber, and in the Chapel, and in the Hall, that they are in a manner brought up in a perpetuity of prayer."* These statutes were so highly esteemed, that Henry VI. adopted them, almost word for word; when, a century afterwards, he founded his College of Eton, and King's College, Cambridge.

On the 26th of September, 1651, Ken was elected a Winchester scholar,† being then 13 years old; and

* Ken's "Manual of Prayers for the use of the Scholars of Winchester Colledge," 2nd edition, 1675, p. 13.

† The following is a copy of the Roll, preserved at New College, Oxford. "*Indentura Electionis anno Dom. 1651, Sept. 26, ad Winton, Thomas Ken de Berkhamstead in Com. Hertford 13 annor. 20 Octobris præteriti*." As Hawkins says he was born in July, it may be a question whether this 20th of October was not the date of his baptismal certificate, which all candidates are obliged to produce.

was admitted into the College* on the 30th of January following, at which time he had completed his 14th year. Here he went through the ordeal which so often determines the moral character of after-life. The discipline was strict, the fare hard, and the juniors were subjected to severities, which would not be permitted now. The beds "in chambers" were made of straw in the sixteenth century. Old Wykehamists of this day have heard their fathers tell of hardships endured a century ago, which are at present unknown. Some notion may be formed of them from the following letter of Trelawny, Bishop of Winchester, and Visitor of the College, fifty years after Ken was there :

"MR. WARDEN AND GENTLEMEN,

"WHEN I was last at Winchester, I thought it would be much for the health and cleanliness of the children of the College, that there should be bed-makers appointed by the Warden for them, and the children relieved from the servile and foul office of making their own beds, and keeping their chambers clean ; and also, that during the winter half-year, between Michaelmas and Lady Day, they should not be obliged to rise before six o'clock in the morning. You then so entirely agreed with me in this opinion, and so readily complied with this proposal, that I thought I might spare the formality of sending a solemn injunction to that purpose ; but Michaelmas now drawing

* "*Thomas Ken, de Berkhamstead, in Com. Hertford, annorum 13 ad Festum Michaelis 1650, admissus est 1651.*" Winchester College Register. Therefore, at the time of his admission, he was 14 years old, whether born in July or October, 1637.

near, I only write this to signify to you, that I expect from that time what I formerly enjoined, and you agreed to, should be put in execution.

“ I am,

“ Your most affectionate servant and brother,

“ JONATH. WINTON.” *

We have only two notices of Ken's temper of mind as a school-boy. But we learn from them that his conduct and “ towardly disposition” † were an example to others ; and that “ his parts, application, and behaviour were well employed and observed :” ‡ these prepared the way for his promotion, in due time, from Wykeham's School to his College at Oxford.

It was at Winchester “ he contracted the closely cemented friendship,” which lasted all their lives, “ with Francis Turner, afterwards Bishop of Ely, a most truly pious prelate.” § The attachment between these youthful scholars was no less fervent than the love between David and Jonathan, “ whose souls were knit together.” As they advanced in age this mutual affection deepened into a yet more stedfast friendship. Both had been poor scholars ; both were chosen to the highest offices in the Church ; both displayed an Apostolic fortitude, as Confessors for the true Faith, when the unlawful commands of a tyrant were to be opposed. Afterwards, immoveable in their loyalty, they were content to suffer poverty and deprivation, rather than forfeit their allegiance to him in his reverses and exile.

* Walcott's *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, p. 197.

† *Athenæ Oxonienses*, by Anthony à Wood, folio, vol. ii. p. 989.

‡ Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 2.

§ *Ibid*.

The College was under the wardenship of Dr. John Harris, a distinguished Grecian, formerly Greek Professor of the University of Oxford, "which office he executed with great honour and credit."* But being tainted with the schismatical principles of the age, he took part with the Presbyterians against the Church, and set himself in the ranks of the disaffected to oppose the King. He took the Covenant and other oaths. He was one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, appointed by Parliament in 1643, under pretence of "settling the Government and Liturgy of the Church, and of vindicating its doctrine from false aspersions and interpretations."† This Assembly continued to meet until 1649, and held eleven hundred and sixty-three Sessions.‡ "It was principally composed of Presbyterians and Independents, who had endless disputes among themselves. The majority at first intended only the reducing Episcopacy to the standard of the first or second age; but, for the sake of the Scots' alliance, they were prevailed with to lay aside the name and function of Bishops, and attempt the establishing a Presbyterian form, which at length they advanced into *jus divinum*, or a *divine institution*, derived expressly from Christ and His Apostles. This engaged them in so many controversies, as prevented their laying the top-stone of the building; so that it fell to pieces before it was perfected."§

The proposed *jus divinum* of the Presbyterians was

* Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. p. 225.

† Ordinance of Parliament, June 12, 1643.

‡ Orme's Memoirs of John Owen, 8vo. 1820, p. 71.

§ Neal's History of the Puritans. Ed. 1795, vol. iii. p. 129.

a most intolerant form of Church-government, which soon afterwards filled the land with violence, rapine, and despotism from one end to the other, until all ranks groaned under the grievous burthen.

It is not likely that the Warden of Winchester should often, if ever, have found time to be present in the Assembly at London: his election is by no means a proof that he attended their meetings.* Several of the Bishops and Clergy were appointed, but refused to act,—as Archbishop Ussher, Bishop Prideaux, Drs. Morley, Hammond, Sanderson, and others. It would appear, from Neal's list of the Members, that Harris attended once, to take the "*Protestation*," by way of expressing his approval of the object of the Assembly, and then withdrew.† He was "so noted a Preacher that Sir Henry Savile (who was himself styled the magazine of all learning) used often to say he was second only to St. Chrysostom."‡ To Warden Harris, therefore, we may perhaps, in some measure ascribe Ken's persuasive and powerful eloquence, for which he afterwards became so remarkable.§ He was five years in his progress through the several classes: each step as it brought him nearer to the rank of Prefect, gave him greater privileges, and a fuller enjoyment of the

* He was author of the *Life of Dr. Lake*, Bishop of Chichester; and to his benevolence and generosity the College owes its present infirmary or sick-house, "*Sumptibus Harrisii fuit edificata Bethesda*." Walcott's *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, p. 261.

† *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 52.

‡ *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 224.

§ Francis Turner, another of Harris's pupils, and Ken's early friend, was also a fluent and effective preacher. See *Evelyn's Diary*, edition 1850, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 200.

sports and pastimes that expand and knit the youthful frame into manly vigour.

Under the strict control of Wykeham's discipline, Ken and his friend, Francis Turner, passed through Winchester School, in preparation, as it were, for the contests and sufferings of maturer life. At length, in 1655, their happy intercourse was interrupted by Turner's removal to New College, Oxford. We may imagine how anxiously his companion looked forward to the time when he might join him: but he had to wait another year. He was now at the head of the school, and on the verge of being "superannuate," having nearly completed eighteen years of age. Election Tuesday* approached: the Examiners from Oxford† were to be welcomed at the College gate, according to ancient custom, by a Latin speech. Then followed the examination of the candidates for New College: this was a moment of anxious suspense both to himself and his expecting friends. It must have been a joyful announcement, when his name was declared to be second on the roll of the elected,‡ after two of "Founder's kin," who were always privileged to stand first: but, as there was no present vacancy at New College, he was entered as a student at Hart Hall in Oxford, in the hope of succeeding to a Fellowship within the ensuing year:—if he should fail in this, his chance would be gone without recovery.

* Fifth of September, 1656.

† The Warden and two Fellows of New College.

‡ The following is the entry in the College Rolls.—"*Indentura Electionis ad Oxoniam 5mo Septembris, anno. Dom. 1656. Thomas Ken de Berkhamstead, in Com. Hertford, annorum 18, ad Festum Michis. præteriti.*"

Although boys at the head of a public school enjoy many privileges, they seldom regret the time when they are to be advanced to the University: for then they assume the *toga virilis*, have greater freedom, and a wider range "of bounds." But amidst the after cares of life, and its joys too, the vivid remembrance of their school-boy days calls up associations of peculiar zest and interest. All true Winchester scholars have these feelings strong upon them,* and can testify what pleasure they have in recognizing the names of their distinguished men, carved—or as it were enshrined—on the old wainscotings and walls. Ken's name sheds a bright ray on the venerable cloisters of Winchester. "THO. KEN, 1656," cut into the stone buttress of the south-east corner, still remains a cherished memorial of the good Bishop. And near to this, within the same cloister, and of the same date, Dr. Moberly has lately discovered the name of Francis Turner, as if even in these early records they could not be separated.

But his good works are a more lasting record of his name than any graven stones. We may form some notion of the character which accompanied him to Oxford from the tribute he has received at the hands of Dr. Moberly, and Bishop Wordsworth. And who could have so just a title to speak of him?—for in a kindred spirit they have trained up successions of

* They cannot be better expressed than in the words of Sir Henry Wotton. See Izaak Walton's *Life of this accomplished Wykehamist*. Zouch's Edition, 1817, vol. i. p. 282. The same thought is truthfully conveyed by Cowper (in his *Tirocinium*) in the lines beginning,

"Be it a weakness, it deserves some praise,
We love the play place of our early days," &c.

Winchester scholars to follow his career of virtue. Dr. Moberly says, "If we may suppose Ken to have endeavoured to serve God himself, as by this little book* he desires to bring others to serve Him (a supposition which the grace and goodness of his after-life make highly reasonable), we may believe him to have given a lovely specimen of an early piety. 'An early piety! than which,' he says, addressing a Winchester scholar, 'nothing will make you a greater comfort to all your friends, or a greater blessing to the very College where you are bred: nothing will make you more universally esteemed and beloved by all men, or more successful in your studies.'"[†]

Bishop Wordsworth, addressing the Winchester boys in one of his eloquent sermons, thus speaks of him; "Many of you are familiar with the name of Bishop Ken; you know that he was once a scholar of this College; you know that he has written a 'Manual of Prayers,' and the well-known Morning and Evening Hymns, for our special use; and it is meet that you should all be familiar with his history. And as his example lies unquestionably within the reach of all, so happy will it be for any who shall strive to follow it. It may be, he designed within these walls, dedicated to godliness and the studies of good learning, to devote himself to those pursuits, undisturbed by the cares or pleasures of the world: but he was a burning and a shining light, and he could not be hid."[‡]

* Manual of Prayers for Winchester Scholars.

† Biographical Memoir of Bishop Ken (prefixed to his "Manual of Prayers") by Dr. Moberly, Head Master of Winchester College. I. H. Parker, 1840, 12mo. p. 111.

‡ Christian Boyhood at a Public School; by the Rev. Charles

Another living Wykehamist also,—a most worthy son of the Church,—has sung a noble strain in honour of Ken's name, so inseparably connected with the holiest associations of Winchester College :

“ Good angels still were there, when the base-hearted son
Of Charles, the royal martyr, his course of shame did run :
Then in those cloisters holy KEN strengthened with deeper prayer
His own, and his dear scholars' souls to what pure souls should dare ;
Bold to rebuke enthroned sin, with calm undazzled faith,
Whether amid the pomp of courts, or on the bed of death :
Firm against kingly terrors in his free country's cause,
Faithful to God's anointed against a world's applause.”*


Wordsworth, Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, late Second Master of Winchester College (now Bishop of St. Andrews), vol. ii. p. 345.

* Lines on the 450th Anniversary of the Opening of Winchester College, March 28th, 1843, by Roundell Palmer, Esq., Q.C.



CHAPTER II.

Ken removes to Oxford—The state of the University under the Commonwealth—His College life—King Charles II. restored to the Throne.

T would be very interesting if we were able to give a faithful account of our young scholar's journey, as he travelled from Winchester to those longed-for spires of Oxford. The happy pilgrimage was probably made on foot, with his walking staff; for it was not like a poor scholar of that day to ride his horse, and there were no stage-coaches between Winchester and Oxford. If so, he followed in this respect the example of young Richard Hooker, when he "took a journey on foot from Oxford to Exeter, to satisfy and see his good mother; being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own College, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion,—or want of money, or their humility made it so: but on foot they went."*

In like manner, Ken may have travelled to Oxford. There is reason to suppose that he had more than one companion in his journey, five other scholars† being

* Izaak Walton's *Life of Richard Hooker*. Zouch's 3rd edition, 1817, vol. i. p. 320.

† Their names were Nicholas, Philips, Spencer, Minshall, and Powell. They all afterwards took their degree of B.A. together, except

mentioned as brought from Winchester to Oxford at the same time. When vacancies occurred in New College, the Warden used to send a messenger, or "speeding-man," to Winchester, to summon the next on the Indenture of Election. It appears by the College books, that one Cotterell was the speeding-man on this occasion, and he received a fee of four shillings for each scholar he "brought off" with him. What must have been their feelings when they sat down to rest within sight of Oxford,* and the sound of Christchurch bells! Some reader may once have felt the same thrilling emotion as these young travellers, when for the first time they caught a glimpse of the classical city rising from its groves and meadows, and probably indulged in pleasing anticipations of a College life, and its influence on their future destinies.

But at that time Oxford was not the happy abode of religion, learning, and peace. Her schools, colleges, and halls, having for nearly twelve years been the scene of republican disorders, were much out of repair; some of them had been entirely suppressed. Many hundreds of the most eminent men had been thrust out by the Parliamentary Visitors,† to make room for schismatics.

Powell, who died in 1660. I feel much indebted to friends in New College for a general desire to assist in the good work of honouring the memory of Bishop Ken. These and other interesting details have been gathered (by permission) out of the College Books and Rolls.

* On Hincksey Hill, near Bagley Wood.

† The History and Antiquities of Oxford, by Anthony à Wood, from his Original MSS. in the Bodleian Library; by John Gutch, M.A., 1796, 4to. vol. ii. passim. See also Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 74. Some judgment may be formed of these spoilers from the character of Sir Nathaniel Brent, the first named in the "Ordinance for the Visitation and Reformation of Oxford." Having

The books of many libraries had been embezzled. Fanaticism had banished all reverence and ancient order, and seized the munificent endowments, intended for the encouragement of learning and piety.* A holy charm might seem to hang over St. Mary's in the distance,—how calm and beautiful! But within, discord and confusion still outraged the genius of the place, although the tyranny of the Visitors had somewhat abated. The rightfully appointed Preachers,—the Masters and Fellows and Professors,—had long been under persecution as “scandalous ministers, faucy Jacks, brazen-faced fellows.”† St. Mary's pulpit was still profaned by the Seven Parliamentary Ministers, sent down to preach the loyal scholars into a new obedience. All ecclesiastical discipline and religious ceremonies had been denounced as “a heap of atheistical Roman rubbish.” The altar and painted windows in the Churches‡ were commanded to be broken; the chancels

taken down the rich hangings at the altar in Merton College Chapel, he used them as his bed-chamber curtains, “which was notoriously exclaimed against, because dedicated to a pious use.”

* The desolation of the Bodleian Library is thus described by an eye-witness, John Allibond, in his Satyrical Poem on the Oxford Visitation, “*Rustica Academiæ Oxoniensis nuper reformatæ Descriptio* :”—

“Conscendo orbis illud decus,
Bodleio Fundatore,
Sed intus erat nullum pecus,
Excepto Janitore.

“Neglectos vidi libros multos,
Quod minimè mirandum,
Nam inter bardos tot et stultos,

There's few could understand 'em.”

Oxoniana, vol. iii. p. 98.

† *Fasti Oxonienses*, by Anthony à Wood, folio, vol. ii. p. 61.

‡ See *Journal of William Dowling of Stratford, &c.*, in the years 1643, 1644. It will be found in the Appendix to an excellent little

were levelled, organs and surplices abolished; and the Book of Common Prayer forbidden in Church, or private families, on pain of imprisonment,* *and all for liberty of conscience!*

Cromwell, the Arch-rebel and Regicide, was now Chancellor of Oxford. Dr. John Owen, "Oliver's Ahithophel, the Prince, the Oracle, the metropolitan of Independency," filled the office of Vice-Chancellor. Having solemnly promised obedience to his Bishop, and taken the oath of allegiance and fidelity to his King,† he turned with the tide of Rebellion, preached against all Episcopal authority, and applauded the murder of

book, reprinted by Parker of Oxford, in 1840, written by Dr. Edward Wells, of Cotesbach in Leicestershire, in 1715, and entitled "The RICH MAN'S DUTY, *to contribute liberally to the Building, Rebuilding, Repairing, Beautifying, and Adorning of Churches.*" It is a record, in his own hand, of a ruthless fanatic, appointed one of the Parliamentary Visitors "to demolish (what they called) the superstitious pictures and ornaments of churches." He had seven deputies under him, Huns and Vandals, who skirmished the district appropriated to them, and committed almost incredible acts of sacrilege in 149 parish churches. Dowling and his helpmates smashed some thousands of painted windows. See also, "*A Parish Looking Glass for Persecutors of Ministers*," wherein such persecuting people may behold their ugly-faced sinful condition, and the judgments of God falling on their heads: published by Richard Culmer for the common good," 4to. 1657. It contains an account of the violent proceedings of this Richard Culmer, another notorious breaker of windows in Canterbury Cathedral: he was better known in the county of Kent by the name of "Blue Dick." See, also, *Life of Anthony à Wood*, p. 141, for the defecration of Merton College Chapel by the "Sacrilegists."

* Act of 23rd August, 1645, "for the Directorie being put in execution, with penalties for using the Book of Common Prayer," Scobell's Collection, p. 97. For an account of like sufferings at Cambridge, see "*QUERELA CANTABRIGIENSIS, or a Remonstrance, by way of Apologie, for the banished Members of our late flourishing Univerfity of Cambridge:*" 1647, 12mo. especially pp. 14, 15. 17.

† *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 737.

Charles as just and righteous.* On taking his seat as Vice-Chancellor, he had sworn to observe the statutes and maintain the privileges of the University: yet he endeavoured to put down all habits and formalities, and "so under-valued his office as to go in *quirpo*,† like a young scholar, with powdered hair, snake-bone band-strings, with very large tassels, a large set of ribbons pointed at his knees, and Spanish leather boots, with large lawn tops, and his hat mostly cocked."‡ He was "so great an enemy to the Lord's Prayer (yet ordained to Holy Orders!) that when some preachers concluded their own with it (which was very seldom done by any, especially the Presbyterians and Independents, because it was looked upon, forsooth, as formal and prelatical to do so), he would with great sneering and scorn turn aside, or sit down, and put on his hat."§ One of the Proctors was "Hierome

* He was appointed to preach before the Parliament on the 31st January, 1649, the day after the King was beheaded. The Sermon was published with the title of "*Righteous zeal encouraged by Divine protection.*" He declared, that "when Kings command unrighteous things, and the People suit them with willing compliance, none doubts but the destruction of them both is just and righteous." Orme's Memoirs of John Owen, p. 96.

† Spanish,—*en cuerpo*; Latin,—*nudatus pallio*.

"*Hoff. Cuerpo!* what 's that?"

Tip. Light skipping hose and doublet,
The horse-boy's garb! poor blank and half-blank,"

Ben Jonson, New Inn, ii. 5.

"So they dismantled him of a new plush coat; and my Secretary was content to go home quietly *in cuerpo*." Howell's Letters, B. i. Lett. 17. Robert Nares' Glossary of Words and Phrases.

‡ Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. p. 738.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 739. In thus charging Owen with being an enemy to the Lord's Prayer, Anthony à Wood seems to have been carried away by his zeal against the Puritans, who had brought such scandalous

Zanchy, a boisterous fellow at cudgelling, foot-ball playing, and indeed more fit in all respects to be a rude soldier than a scholar, or man of polite parts. In the beginning of the Rebellion he threw off his gown, and took up arms for the Parliament, and soon after became a Captain, a Presbyterian, an Independent, and I know not what.”*

It was no wonder, therefore, if republican Professors, Masters, Principals, and Fellows were thrust upon the reluctant University. She was bereft of her most perfect patterns of holiness, and surest guides in sound learning, because they demurred to the “Covenant,” and “Negative Oath,” and the “Engagement to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth without a King or House of Lords.”

In their room succeeded “an illiterate rabble of poor scholars, Pedagogues from Belfries, Curates, and sometimes Vicars, as also Parliament soldiers, especially such as had lately been disbanded. They were commonly called Seekers, were great frequenters of the sermons at St. Mary’s, preached by the Seven Ministers appointed by Parliament, and other Presbyterians that preached in other Churches in Oxford, and sometimes

confusion into Oxford. Owen denied this accusation: he says, “I do, and ever did, believe that the Lord’s Prayer is a part of the Canonical Scripture, which I would not willingly blaspheme; that it was composed by the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, and that it is the most perfect form of prayer that ever was composed.” (Owen’s Sermons and Tracts, p. 619.) This, however, is perfectly reconcilable with Wood’s charge of his putting on his hat, which was a common custom with the Puritans in Church; and the use of the Lord’s Prayer before the sermon was denounced by the fanatics, as a remnant of “Prelacy,” which Owen cordially detested.

* Wood’s Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. p. 69.

frequenters of the Conventicles of the Independents and Anabaptists. The generality of them had mortified countenances, puling voices, and eyes commonly, when in discourse, lifted up, with hands laying on their breasts; they mostly had short hair, which at this time was called the *Committee cut*, and went in *quirpo*, in a shabb'd condition, and looked rather like apprentices, or antiquated school-boys, than academians, or ministers."*

The abusive Preachers "would reflect much on divers Members of the University, styling also the ancient Doctors dumb dogs, idle drones, blind seers, &c." Among them was Hugh Peters, "that notorious villain, the shame of England and of mankind, who did most impudently several times put aside the University preaching in St. Mary's, and on a Sunday did vent most strange passages concerning the King. He would declare that he could pick out some soldiers in the army, that should be able to open sentences, draw doctrines, and make cases, better and more proper than any of the Scholars in the University: and that he would make a boy of twelve years of age to preach as good Divinity as most of them. But their praying and preaching was altogether *contrary to the genii of the Academians*:" "for they made wry mouths, squint eyes, and scru'd faces, quite altering them from what God and nature had made them. They had antick behaviours, squeaking voices, and puling tones, fit rather for stage Players, and country Beggars to use, than such as were to speak the Oracles of God."

* Wood's Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. p. 61.

Accordingly, they were "the cause of a great deal of scorn" among the loyal Scholars, and of "laughter in others." The gownsmen used to go to the Churches and Conventicles to turn them into ridicule, which occasioned many broils between themselves and the soldiery of the Presbyterian faction. These witlings, besides other indecencies, "hummed, hissed, stamped, shoved, and made such disturbances, that the Sectarians would draw their swords, and were encountered by the Scholars with cudgels, and other weapons."*

All discipline was at an end, for most of the Students had served as soldiers during the siege of Oxford. A letter of Dr. Fell's has been preserved, describing the miserable condition of the University in consequence of the war. "Lectures and exercises for the most part ceased. The Scholars, especially the young, were much debauched, and became idle by their bearing arms, and keeping company with rude soldiers. Much of their precious time was lost by being upon guard night after night, and by doing those duties which appertained to them as bearers of arms, and so consequently had opportunities, as lay-soldiers had, of gaming, drinking, swearing, &c. In a word, there was scarce the face of an University left, all things being out of order, and disturbed."†

We glean from various passages in Wood the garb and manners of an Oxford Fop of this period. He wore his long hair with a profusion of powder, and knots of ribands in his clothes. He would walk in boots, spurs, and boot-hose tops, and went more like a person

* Annals of Oxford, vol. ii. passim.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 487.

of the Inns of Court, or Playhouses, than a student. He despised cap either square or round, but preferred a knot of flowers, or a sprig from a May-pole garland stuck in his hat. "Hounds and horses, bibbing and gaming in his private chamber, or tippling in common houses, idling about the streets with fiddling musicians," and such like sports, occupied his time and thoughts. He was guilty of "noctivagation, intemperance, perturbation of the peace, and especially of offering intolerable affronts to the soldiery of the garrison."

The Visitors proceeded in their work of violence with a zeal sharpened by self-interest, and appointed themselves and friends as Heads of Houses, Professors, Lecturers, Fellows, Chaplains, &c., in place of all who refused the oaths, or in any way came under the classification of malignants. This clearance of the "scandalous and Popish, and ill-affected" Loyalists was carried on with still greater vigour after the Act of 20th of March, 1653, appointing "Commissioners" (who were called Triers) "for approbation of Preachers."* "Mere canting and lay persons, Undergraduates in the University, or puling pitiful Levites, that could never frame an argument, were sure to pass either by the endeavours of friends, money, or sycophantizing. 'Twas verily thought, that there were never such Symoniacks in the world as these Commissioners were. Not a living of value, but what a friend, or the best purchaser was admitted into, no less to the ruin than to the scandal of the Church of England, the Protestant religion, Professors thereof, and the Universities."†

* Scobell's Collection, p. 279.

† Annals of Oxford, vol. ii. p. 660.

Not only the Dons and scholars, but even "the beadles, college servants, bed-makers, and scrapers of trenchers were banished from their places." Each College and Hall was *visited* in succession, and emptied of all who remained faithful to their allegiance. Sheldon, Hammond, Morley, Sanderson, and others, who had taken the lead in drawing up the "Oxford REASONS against the Solemn League and Covenant," had been especially obnoxious to these spoilers;—the two first even suffering imprisonment.*

New College, in the midst of this confusion, had bravely maintained its loyal principles,—animated by the zeal of the high-spirited Warden, Dr. Robert Pink. He needs no other praise than that he appointed the learned Dr. Peter Gunning, Dr. Isaac Barrow,† and Dr. Richard Sherlock, to be Chaplains of his College. The two former of these had been turned out of their Fellowships in Cambridge, for refusing the Covenant. After the Restoration, they were made Bishops. It would be difficult to say which of the three was the most eminent for his bountiful disposition. When Sherlock was ejected, he took the curacy of Cassington, near Woodstock, and out of a stipend of 16*l.* a year bestowed the greater part in charity amongst the poor. He was a man of such exemplary holiness, that good Bishop Wilton honoured his memory by writing an account of his life.

Dr. Pink had some time before assembled all who were capable of bearing arms, and were willing to serve the king in defence of the city. The "privileged

* Annals of Oxford, vol. ii. p. 68.

† Uncle to the famous Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

men and scholars" of New College answered freely to the summons. They formed themselves into a militia, with many members of the University, all bringing with them "such apparel of war as they could rout out from the Colleges; helmets, back and breast pieces, pikes, muskets, and other appurtenances."* The cloisters and towers of Wykeham, designed by their founder for the abode of learning and peace, were converted into magazines of war.†

These loyal volunteers must have presented a motley band, as they fell into rank, for every variety of warlike implements was pressed into the service, not forgetting "a hundred barbed arrows to shoot against such foldiers as should come against them." Nothing was rejected; they were all to "do their endeavours to furnish and fit themselves with such arms and weapons as should be most convenient." Dr. Pink's regiment was three hundred and thirty strong, and "divided into four squadrons, of which two were musqueteers, the third pikes, and the fourth hallbeards."

Cromwell's heavy troopers would have smiled grimly to see these martial "Academians," who "had now exchanged the gown for the military cloak, and the square cap for the helmet; Undergraduates, servants, Masters of Art, and some Divines also. As for drums and colours, those belonging to the *Cooks' Corporation* served their turns for the present." In this gallant trim they would march up the High Street to Christ Church, "where, in the great Quadrangle, after they had been reasonably instructed in their words of com-

* Life of Anthony à Wood, p. 13.

† Ibid. p. 17.

mand, and their postures, they were put into battle array, and skirmished together in a very decent manner.”* The said scholars and the privileged men did sometimes traine in New College Quadrangle, in the eye of Dr. Pink, and it being a novel matter, there was no holding of the school-boyes in their school in the cloyster, from seeing and following them. And Mr. Wood remembered well, that some of them were so besotted with the training, and activitie, and gayetie therein of some yong scholars, as being in a longing condition to be of the traine, that they could never be brought to their books againe.”†

The military defences of the city were not much more formidable than the accoutrements of the Scholars. “The highway at the corner of Magdalen College was protected by a crooked trench, in form of a bow, and blocked up with timber logs to keep out horsemen: and for the same purpose two posts were set up for a chain to run through them.” And for ammunition, “three or four loads of stones were also carried up to the Magdalen College Tower, to fling down upon the enemy at their entrance. Strict sentinel was kept every night.” Very soon after these preparations had been made, the courage of the “academians” was sorely put to the test. One night at twelve o’clock, a troop of horse was discovered by the sentinel of Scholars to be at the gate. “This gave very great alarm to the Univerfity and City, infomuch, that every one being in a maze, *they did not know whether to stand to their arms, or abscond!* At length,

* Annals of Oxford, vol. ii. p. 441. † Life of Anthony à Wood, p. 13.

it being discovered that they were a troop of 200 horse, sent from his Majesty, under the command of Colonel Sir John Byron, the Scholars closed with them, and were joyful at their coming.”*

We must not, however, undervalue the military aptitude of the learned band; afterwards, under the King's gallant and faithful friend, Colonel William Legge, who was made Governor of the City, they became intrepid and well-disciplined soldiers. Their loyalty was rewarded by the presence of the King and Royal Family, who took refuge for some time in Oxford.† “Their bravery now shone conspicuous in every action. Out of one hundred students of Christ Church, twenty of them received commissions in the royal army.” In short, as Anthony à Wood declares with his usual quaintness, “Oxford recommended itself in a two-fold character, as the seat of the Muses, and also of Charles their King; and it is not unworthy of remark that, though the Oxonians underwent many hardships, when they were deprived of their Goddess Minerva, yet they acquired great merit under the same Deity, when she assumed her other character of Pallas.”‡ The learned and brave Richard Allestry, Student of Christ Church, and Moderator in Philosophy, paid homage to the Goddess in both her attributes, and

* *Annals of Oxford*, vol. ii. p. 446.

† Dr. Pink did not participate in the joy of the King's coming. He had gone out to Aylesbury, a little time before, to hold a conference with the rebel commanders: but they perfidiously laid hold of him as a delinquent, and sent him to London to the Parliament, who forthwith committed him a prisoner to the Gate House at Westminster.—*Annals of Oxford*, vol. ii. p. 447.

‡ *Annals of Oxford*, vol. ii. p. 447.

though he served in the Oxford regiment, and was forward in all dangers, did not neglect his studies, "frequently carrying his musket in one hand and book in the other, and making the watchings of a soldier the lucubrations of a student."* No doubt his ardent loyalty suggested to him a justification for thus infringing the well-known, statute "*ab omni genere et apparatu bombardarum abstineas.*"

But all was in vain. The battle of Naseby† was lost; and General Fairfax, with his victorious and well disciplined army, laid siege to Oxford. It was thought prudent that the King should convey himself away in disguise, for there was no hope of a successful resistance. A treaty for surrender on honourable terms was concluded, and the garrison, which had now increased to three thousand, marched out with "colours flying and drums beating." Then followed all the after-violence.‡ New College was not spared in the general tumult: the members were cited to appear before Cheynell, Prynne, and other Visitors. Only one of the Fellows consented to take the oaths on un-

* Preface to Dr. Allestry's Sermons, printed at Oxford, 1684. He was afterwards provost of Eton College, where he raised the School, which he found in a low condition, to an uncommon pitch of reputation. —Granger's Biog. Hist. of England, 4th edition, vol. iii. p. 272.

† This was a subject of joyful ovation to John Owen. "'Where' he exclaimed, '*is the God of Marston Moor, and the God of Naseby!*' is an acceptable expostulation in a gloomy day. Oh! what a catalogue of mercies hath this nation to plead in a time of trouble. *God came from Naseby, and the Holy One from the West!* His Glory covered the Heavens, and the Earth was full of His praise."—Orme's Life of John Owen, p. 87.

‡ Anthony Wood says, "After the entry of the Parliamenters into Oxford, no place in England was worse; for as some were pleased to say, 'Hell was broke loose upon them,—nothing but sectarianism, blasphemy, and hypocrisy.'" Annals of Oxford, vol. ii. p. 500.

qualified terms.* George Marhall, who had served as Chaplain to the rebel army, was obtruded into the Warden's chair. By the 22nd of April, 1650, eight Chaplains, and fifty-four Fellows, had been thrust out to make room for needy adherents to the new order of things.

At a later period John Evelyn records an agreeable visit of a week which he spent in Oxford among the Heads of Colleges, especially his "dear and excellent friend, Dr. Williams, Warden of Wadham." It is true he "found the glass windows of the Cathedral much abused, and in Magdalen College Chapel the altar turned tablewise, and the famous Independent, Dr. Owen, preached at St. Mary's, perstringing Episcopacy." But the Chapel of New College was "in its ancient garb, notwithstanding the scrupulosity of the times: and at Magdalen the Chapel was in pontifical order, and that abomination (as now esteemed, and almost universally abolished), the double organ, still existed, and the famous musician, Mr. Gibbon, gave them a taste of his skill and talents on that instrument." The Bodleian also again displayed "the rarities of that most famous place, manuscripts, medals, and other curiosities."†

Thus the storm of violence in Oxford had subsided by the time that Ken arrived at Hart Hall; and no

* His name was Daniel Vivian: he did not long enjoy the fruits of his disloyalty; for his new associates afterwards expelled him as an unworthy member. He appealed to the visitors; but they issued an order, pronouncing him guilty of many misdemeanours and miscarriages, and removed him from his Fellowship, allowing him one year's profits of it. Register of the Visitation of the University, in the Bod. Lib.

† Evelyn's Diary, July, 1654; vol. i. p. 290-3.

doubt he cheerfully betook himself to his college tasks and occupations. The young freshman would, of course, be cordially welcomed by Francis Turner, and his other Wykehamist friends. Moreover, nothing could entirely root out the influences of learning and virtue which had for so many centuries prevailed in Oxford. And where could a peaceful retirement be found, if not in the University? for whilst the despotism of a fanatical soldiery had carried confusion into every corner of the land, it continued to be the resort of men attached to science and literature, who came from all parts to pursue their studies. Several learned Professors, who had taken the "Engagement," had preferment there. "To these were added many gentlemen of philosophical minds, whom the misfortunes of the Kingdom, and the security and ease of a retirement amongst gownsmen, had drawn thither. Their purpose was the satisfaction of breathing a freer air, and of conversing in quiet one with another, without being engaged in the passions and madness of the age."* The principal and most constant of these were Drs. Wilkins, Goddard, Wallis, Ralph Bathurst, Seth Ward, William Petty, Christopher Wren (father of the great Architect), and many more. But before all others was the great and good Robert Boyle, who for a combination of varied excellencies and endowments, directed to the holiest ends, has seldom, if ever, found an equal in our annals. He had such a high reputation, even in foreign countries, that no learned stranger came to

* Bishop Sprat's History of the Royal Society of London, 4to. 1702, p. 53.

England but sought his acquaintance.* He was well versed in Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and other languages, and familiar with all the mathematical sciences; yet of such a meek and candid disposition, that he demeaned himself humbly to all who approached him. This is not to be wondered at, since his genius was sanctified by a Christian spirit. "He had so great a reverence for the Deity, that the very Name of GOD was never mentioned by him without a pause, and a visible stop in his discourse, in which Sir Peter Pett, who knew him for almost forty years, affirms that he was so exact, that he did not remember to have observed him once fail in it."† His whole life was a practical example how a layman of noble birth may cultivate the graces of a saint in the midst of a profane and restless world; how the highest intellect can bow itself down in simple faith before the unsearchable mysteries of Revelation. He showed his great zeal for religion by printing at his own expense the four Gospels, and Acts of the Apostles, in the Malayan‡ tongue, and contributing largely to the translations of the Irish

* Birch's Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle, prefixed to his Works, fol. 1744, vol. i. p. 90.

† Ibid. p. 87. He thought so humbly of his own qualifications, and had such a respect for God's service, that "when he was solicited by the Earl of Clarendon to enter into Holy Orders, he did not think himself worthy; for he had so high a sense of the obligations, importance, and difficulty of the pastoral care, that he durst not undertake it." Many of his writings prove that he would have been an excellent divine; they raise the author far above the level of the exalted philosophy, from which he unfolded the mysteries of the natural world. His treatises on "*Seraphic Love*," "*The Excellency of Theology above Natural Philosophy*," and "*The Veneration due to God*," exhibit a deep sense of the Divine love in the economy of man's salvation.

‡ Ibid, p. 87.

and Welsh Bibles. He founded the Incorporated Society for propagating the Gospel in New England; and established eight Lectures annually, for ever, for the proof of the Christian Religion, against notorious Infidels,—“not descending lower to any controversies that are among Christians.”*

It was fortunate for the University that such a man as Robert Boyle, and his little circle of “*virtuosi*,” as they were called, took up their residence in Oxford. Their eminent qualities gained a great respect from those in authority, as well as from the Undergraduates: “for they employed much of their labour and prudence in preserving that most venerable seat of ancient learning, when their shrinking from its defence would have been the speediest way to have destroyed it.” Moreover, “a race of young men was provided against the next age, whose minds received from them their first impressions of sober and generous knowledge, and were invincibly armed against all the enchantments of enthusiasm.”† Of this number were Francis Turner and many other contemporaries of Ken at different

* “His private charities were extraordinary: he gave 1000*l.* yearly to the distressed refugees of France and Ireland.” Evelyn’s Diary, vol. ii. p. 317.

† Sprat’s History of the Royal Society:—These Oxford meetings were held at the lodgings of Dr. Petty, Dr. Wilkins, and Mr. Boyle. Soon after the Restoration, Charles II. granted to them, and other learned men, a Charter of Incorporation, under the title of “*The Royal Society of London*,” which has ever since maintained a high character among the Philosophical Institutions of Europe. The History of its formation and objects, by Dr. Thomas Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, has been thought to be “pen’d in so very fine, neat, and graceful a stile, that some account it to be one of the most exact pieces for curiousness and delicacy of language, that was ever yet extant in our tongue.”—Wood’s *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 1097.

Colleges, who were afterwards eminent in life, and either suffered with him, or conscientiously chose the successful side. Two especially were of temper and habits congenial to his own, students of Christ Church, with whom he now formed a lasting friendship. One was Mr. Thomas Thynne, afterwards, "in consideration of his great merits, created Viscount Weymouth; a person of strict piety, honour, and integrity,"*—virtues which conferred upon him a better claim to respect than his high rank. The other was George Hooper, of whom the celebrated Dr. Busby declared he was "the best scholar, the finest gentleman, and would make the best bishop that was ever educated at Westminster School."† "He was a learned Grecian and Oriental scholar."‡

It does not appear what degree of intimacy subsisted between Lord Weymouth and Ken for some years after they left College. The frequency of their intercourse was probably interrupted by their being placed in different spheres of life; but "in the reverses of Ken's lot, and the evening of his days, when he had no home upon earth," Weymouth testified his faithful attachment by affording him for twenty years an asylum at his noble mansion of Long Leat, where he closed his eyes.§ Hooper and Ken were thrown together in every stage of their lives; one was the more distin-

* Collins's Peerage, vol. vi. p. 266.

† Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iii. p. 989.

‡ Evelyn, speaking of his eloquence, says, "Dr. Hooper preached on Mark xii. 16, 17, before the King, of the usurpation of the Church of Rome. This is one of the first rank of pulpit men in the nation." Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 159.

§ Bowles's Life of Ken, vol. i. p. 42.

guished for his knowledge of the ancient languages, the other for his fascinating eloquence. Both were priests, "patterns for the people to follow," succeeding one another in their early and latest preferments, and each more solicitous for the other's advancement than his own.

Notwithstanding the healing influence of these examples, the violence of the Republicans, as we have seen, had a most injurious effect on the general discipline of the Colleges. Having divided the academical spoils among themselves and their adherents, they left the Scholars very much to their own ways. Dr. Owen afterwards boasted that he had effected "a reformation of manners, in spite of the grumblings of certain profligate brawlers."* If this were so, his method of proceeding was a strange one; for he despised all form and ceremony, which have ever been found indispensable in the government of large and mixed societies. The "grumblers" of whom he complained, were neither "profligates" nor "brawlers;" but men of equal learning with himself, and of more Christian forbearance, temper, and meekness. "Accounting nothing more ridiculous than (what he called) starcht formality, or a prelatical cut," he endeavoured to alter the ancient Statutes and Constitutions. The academical dress, caps and gowns, collar-bands and hoods,† were particular objects of his dislike: he never wore them himself, and even in Convocation, and other solemn meetings, "he had always his hat on, and that many

* Orme's *Memoirs of John Owen*, p. 199.

† For an account of the controversy on caps and hoods, see *Life of Seth Ward*, Bishop of Salisbury, by Dr. Walter Pope, pp. 34 to 43 and 176.

times cock'd."* Though he met with much opposition even among the newly appointed Heads of Houses, and other members of Convocation, he attempted to abolish the annual Commemoration, or Public Act, and especially the office of *Terræ Filius*, "which certainly, with some other customs, were too youthful and light for grave persons." The delegates of Convocation were willing to modify these, but not to do away with them. "Some of the Masters making a ridiculous matter of it, he was in a manner forced to sit down, and meddle no more in the affair."

The satirical personage called *Terræ Filius*, was a public orator elected for the year, and privileged to deliver a speech at the Commemoration, in which he would lampoon the learned authorities, and any others who had made themselves obnoxious to the Scholars. "The *Terræ Filii* for some years before this did not only not spare, in their respective speeches, to tell the Doctors of their crimes, but also to let fall various expressions that seemed to the godly to be prophane and obscene."† Two years after Ken came to New College, Lancelot Addison, of Queen's (father of the accomplished Joseph Addison) was obliged to recant on his knees a satirical speech which he had delivered in this character; "enlarging, with much energy of language, on the pride, hypocrisy, ignorance, and avarice of the governors of the kingdom."‡

We find, at a later period, that, "to put an entire

* Annals of Oxford, vol. ii. p. 635.

† Ibid. p. 684.

‡ Noble's Continuation of Granger's Biographical History, vol. ii. p. 109.

stop to this dangerous practice of exposing the Dons to derision and detestation, it was thought expedient, for the safety of their reputation, to have no Public Act at all for some years; and when they had, to have no *Terræ Filius*. Several indignities having been offered (by these academical pickle-herrings) to the grave Fathers of the University (the reverend the Heads and Governors of Colleges and Halls), they winced like so many gall'd horses, and said to one another, 'Gentlemen, these are no jests; if we suffer this, we shall become the sport of freshmen and servitors; let us expel him for an example to others not to take such freedoms with their superiors.' And *Terræ Filius* was accordingly expelled almost every Act.*

It so happened, that in Dr. Owen's Vice-Chancellorship, "at a Public Act, when a Student of Trinity College was *Terræ Filius*, the Doctor, before he began, told him he should have liberty to say what he pleased, provided he would abstain from profaneness, obscenity, and personalities. The *Terræ Filius* began, but soon transgressed all the rules which had been prescribed to him. The Doctor several times desired him to forbear, but still he went on; till at last, seeing him obstinate, he sent the Beadles to pull him down. On this the Scholars interposed, and would not suffer them to come near him. The Doctor determined to pull him down himself, and though his friends near him dissuaded him, lest the Scholars should do him some mischief; 'I will

* *Terræ Filius*, or the Secret History of the University of Oxford, in several Essays: 12mo. 3rd. edition, 1754, p. 3. The Author, N. Amhurst, of St. John's College, was expelled as a scurrilous libeller. Two of the Papers were ordered by the "Dons" to be burnt by the hands of the common executioner, see *Ibid.*, p. 159.

not see authority trampled on in this manner,' said he, and actually pulled him down, and sent him to *Bocardo* ; * the Scholars standing off, surpris'd at his resolution." †

The Undergraduates, and sometimes graver men too, would play off other pranks against the Doctor, or against the Royalists, as the case might be: for amidst so much turbulence and party spirit, they were not very nice on either side. "One Kinafton, a merchant of London, with a long beard, and hair over-grown, was at the Mitre Inn, and feigning himself a Patriarch (of the Greek Church), and that he came to Oxford for a Model of the last Reformation, divers Royalists repaired to him, and were blessed by him. Also John Harmer, the Greek Professor of the University, appeared very formally, and made a Greek harangue before him. Whereupon some of the company, who knew the design to be waggish, fell a laughing, and betrayed the matter. It was a piece of waggery to impose upon the Royalists, and such that had a mind to be blest by a Patriarch, instead of an Archbishop or Bishop; and it made great sport for the time, and those that were blest were ashamed of it. Among the victims were the Dean of Christ Church, Dr. Owen, and some of the Canons of that House; and other Presbyterian Doctors resorted to him, or he to them, for to draw up and give him a Modell of their Church Reformation. Mr. William Lloyd, then a Tutor of Wadham, was the author of this piece of waggery, as he himself

* The public prison.

† Orme's Life of John Owen, p. 174.

used to make his braggs. But Owen and the others were so much incensed, when they found the matter a cheat, that Lloyd was forced to abscond for the present, or, as he used to say, *run away*.* This William Lloyd was no other than the future Bishop of St. Asaph, with whom Ken and Turner were afterwards closely connected, as fellow-sufferers in maintaining the cause of the Church.

Ken's earliest biographer, William Hawkins, his great-nephew and executor, affords very little information as to this period of his life:† but Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, records, that "he was even then, when young, very pious and charitable;" and Anthony Wood says, "his towardliness towards good Letters and Virtue was observed by the Seniors."‡ In 1657, after a year's Probation at Hart Hall, he was elected a Fellow of New College. Here once more he became chamber-fellow with Francis Turner; for the Warden endeavoured so to arrange the Fellows, that they might be with their friends. The name of their room was *Rose*, being one of thirteen in the

* Life of Anthony à Wood, 1772, p. 132.

† My friend, Dr. Markland, in the Preface to his excellent Life of Bishop Ken (2nd edition, 1849, 12mo.), laments that Hawkins did not make a better use of his "superior opportunities of knowledge and enquiry." In this reference to Markland's work, I may be allowed to speak of its great merits. It is admirable as a specimen of biography, and of literary and historical research. The reader will see in the notes to this volume, how often I have availed myself of his authority: but independently of his published facts, he has aided me since by many other communications. I believe I may say, that as we became more and more familiar with the character of the good Bishop, and more earnest in our endeavours to bring it out to public view, the friendship between us, which began at a much earlier period, has been still more durably cemented.

‡ Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. p. 989.

Quadrangle.* The chambers were all called by their respective names, as the *Baptist's Head*, the *Vine*, the *Conduit*, the *Crane's Dart*, the *Vale*, the *Star*, &c. There were four beds in each, and a small study; and a senior Fellow superintended each room to keep order.† At first Ken's other companions were Ryves, jun., and Oldis; afterwards Bohun, Cally, Coxe, &c. Although he ceased to reside in 1663, he retained his place in the same room until 1665, when a bed was assigned to him over the *Baptist's Head*.‡

We can hardly doubt that Ken, with his friends Thynne, Turner, and Hooper, formed part of the resolute band in Oxford, who assembled together for prayer in the house of Thomas Willis, § close by Merton College, when the Liturgy had been altogether prohibited. Like the disciples of old, in their "upper room," these trustful Christians "performed their devotions according to the Book of Common Prayer, none being admitted but their confidants. There they maintained the orders and rubric of the Church of England on all Lord's days, Holy days, and their Vigils, and administered the Holy Communion." The principal promoters of this were the "great undervaluer of money," Dr. John Fell, the eloquent John Dolben, and the loyal and courageous Richard Allestry. || Sir Peter Lely afterwards perpetuated the

* Essay on the Architectural Works of William of Wykeham, by C. R. Cockerell, 1845.

† Ibid.

‡ Liber Burſariorum of New College.

§ Thomas Willis was brother-in-law to Dr. Fell. *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 795.

|| Fell was afterwards Bishop of Oxford; Dolben, Bishop of Rochester, and subsequently Archbishop of York; and Allestry, Regius Professor of Divinity, and Provost of Eton.

memory of "this worthy triumvirate," and of their friendship, in his well-known portraits of them, united in one picture, now in the Hall of Christ Church.* These meetings were continued until the Restoration, to the great comfort and support of the Royalists. Orme says there were three hundred who attended; † he mentions this as a proof of Owen's generous forbearance. And such it truly was; for, as they were not tolerated by law, they could only meet by his tacit permission. Equally honourable to him was his zealous and successful appeal to the Commission of Triers against their ejecting Dr. Pococke, the Professor of Arabic, from his Living in Berkshire. "He endeavoured, with some warmth, to make them sensible of the infinite contempt and reproach which would certainly fall upon them, when it should be said that they had turned out a man for *insufficiency*, whom all the learned, not of England only, but of all the world, so justly admired for his vast knowledge and extraordinary accomplishments." ‡

"Ken had an excellent genius for music," § and was a skilful player on the lute. It was his favourite

* Granger's Biographical History of England, 4th edition, vol. iii. p. 252. Bishop Dolben is in the middle, Dr. Allestry on his right-hand, and Bishop Fell on his left. It was beautifully engraved on a large half-sheet in mezzotint, by Loggan: this print is now so scarce, that the price of a fine impression is 25*l*. Charles II. called it by the name of "*Chiple, Chopley, Chepley*." Chiple and Chopley were in allusion, perhaps, to the personal appearance of Allestry and Dolben, the former being very thin, the latter as portly: the meaning of Chepley I cannot make out. See Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, by Dallaway, vol. v. p. 190.

† Orme's Life of John Owen, p. 188.

‡ Ibid. p. 154.

§ Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 24.

recreation through life, and his College studies were not so absorbing, but that he joined the musical parties, then so common in the University. This prevailing taste was promoted by the many organists and masters of music, who flocked to Oxford, because they had lost their places in the Churches elsewhere.* The chief manager of the concerts was the facetious, and no less learned and loyal Anthony à Wood, who enumerates the several performers, their instruments, and degrees of skill. He says, "Thomas Ken, of New College, a Junior, would be sometimes among them and sing his part."† There he would meet another great promoter of the musical societies, Narcissus Marsh,‡ whom the Church gratefully records as the pious and munificent Archbishop of Tuam; also Nathaniel Crewe, who even then played his part badly, "always out of tune, as having no good ear," and who afterwards wore the coronet and mitre so unworthily.§ Vice-Chancellor Owen, when he was a gownsmen of Queen's, had studied music for his recreation under Mr. John Wilson,|| a celebrated performer on the flute, who had been a constant attendant on Charles I., and for whom the King had such a regard, that he used to lean on his shoulder whilst he played. Owen made him University Professor of Music, and assigned him a lodging in Balliol College. Even Cromwell, the Chancellor, who could play a game of bowls with General Fairfax, after dinner, in

* Life of Anthony à Wood, p. 126.

† Ibid. p. 125.

‡ Ibid. p. 126.

§ Ibid. p. 125.; also Granger's Biog. Hist., vol. iv. p. 285.

|| Orme's Memoirs of John Owen, p. 12.

the College Green at Magdalen, "loved a good voice and instrumental music well." One James Quin, an ejected Student of Christ Church, was restored for pleasing his Highness with a song. "He heard him with delight, liquor'd him with sack, and in conclusion said: '*Mr. Quin, you have done very well, what shall I do for you?*' to which Quin made answer with great compliments, of which he had command, with a grace, '*that your Highness would be pleased to restore me to my Student's place;*' which he did accordingly, and so he kept it to his dying day." *

Anthony Wood was quite a *fanatico per la musica*; "all the time he could spare from his beloved studies of English History, Antiquities, Heraldry, and Genealogies, he spent in the most delightful faculty of music, either instrumental or vocal: and if he had missed the weekly meetings in the house of Will Ellis, he could not well enjoy himself all the week after." By his exertions and skill, and the aid of Wilson and Ellis, the deprived organist of St. John's, and others, these weekly meetings were got up at their several houses, and sometimes in the College chambers, where they collected together full bands of lutes, viols (bass, tenor, counter-tenor, and treble) lyra-viols, virginals, and even violins, which began now to be in fashion.

Wood gives an account of the great Baltzar, from Lubeck, who came at this time to Oxford, to display his powers. "He was the most famous artist for the violin that the world had yet produced. Anthony Wood saw him run up his fingers to the end of the

* Life of Anthony à Wood, p. 139.

finger-board of the violin, and run them back insensibly and all in alacrity, and in very good tune, which he, nor any in England, saw the like before. Afterwards, he came to one of the weekly meetings at Mr. Ellis's house, and he played to the wonder of all the auditory, and exercising his fingers and instrument several ways to the utmost of his power. Wilson, thereupon, the public Professor (the greatest judge of musick that ever was) did, after his humorous way, stoop down to Baltzar's feet to see whether he had a Huff (*Hoof*) on; that is to say, to see whether he was devil, or not, because he acted beyond the parts of a man. None could be persuaded to play against him in concert or on the violin. At length the company perceiving Anthony Wood standing behind in a corner near the door, they haled him in among them, and play, forsooth, he must against him. Whereupon, not being able to avoid it, he took up a violin, and behaved himself, as poor Troilus did against Achilles. He was abash'd at it; yet honour he got by playing with, and against such a grand master as Baltzar was." *

Thus the loyal "Academians" beguiled the sad time, whilst England was deploring the evils she had brought on herself. The Rebellion, and the death of the King, had entailed upon all classes their own heaviest punishment in a series of national outrages, resulting from the iron bondage of a military despotism. A bold impiety had taken from the people all love of spiritual things: the Church being overthrown, they were given up alternately to profaneness and hypocrisy, and

* Life of Anthony à Wood, pp. 112-14.

forced to perjure themselves with successive oaths, engagements, and covenants, under pretext of exalting the Gospel and promoting liberty. Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, Quakers, Antinomians, Socinians, Levellers, and Fifth-monarchy men, who agreed only in hatred to the Church, and in contempt of each other, became at length themselves weary of the burden of their own manifold confusions.

In the midst of this desolation, when all desired some change, a release was providentially prepared by Him, who "weighs the nations in a balance." The coming deliverance was ushered in by the gorgeous pageantry of Cromwell's funeral. After his death, the discordant factions of the "Council of the Army," the "Council of State," and the "Committee of Safety," foretold the downfall of the Republic. The first symptoms of returning order were faint and uncertain. Hopes and fears agitated all minds, as the Parliament, or Lambert, or Monk, seemed to prevail: till at length the secret counsels of the latter took a definite course. General Monk* declared himself openly for the King, and the whole nation concurred in his joyful Restoration to the throne.

No sooner was the news brought to Oxford than the bells rang, and bonfires were made. A grand musical meeting was held in the public school. "The gallery was full of the female sex; and after all was

* It is recorded in an epitaph, printed shortly after his death, that he triumphed "*non armorum strepitu, sed consiliorum alto silentio.*" In his patent of nobility he is called "*sine sanguine victor.*" Appendix to Skinner's Life of General Monk, 1724; and his Life by Guizot, Bohn's edition, 1851, p. 104.

concluded, the performers, and others, retired to the Crowne Tavern, where they dranke a health to the King, the two Dukes, Monk, &c. Oxford did exceed any place of its bigness" on the day of Restoration, where "the jollity continued till next morning. The world of England was perfectly mad. They were freed from the chains of darknes and confusion, which the Presbyterians and phanaticks had brought upon them; yet some of these, seeing then what mischief they had done, tack'd about to participate of the universal joy, and at length clos'd with the Royal parties." *

When Charles II. took possession of his palace at Whitehall, the memory of past sufferings was for a moment lost in the general triumph. What then must have been the gladness of the University, when an order came down from the Lords in Parliament, that all who had been unjustly put out of their Headships, Fellowships, and other offices in the Colleges, should be restored! Morley, Fell, Dolben, Sanderfon, and the rest, who had been expelled as "malignant and scandalous recusants," were reinstated. "The scene of all things is now changed, and alterations made in the countenances, actions, manners, and words of all men. Those that had laid under a cloud for several years behind, appeared with cheerful looks, while others that had then flourished dropped away, and withdrew themselves privately; they knowing very well that they had eaten other men's bread, and if they should stay, would undergo a visitation and censure

* Life of Anthony à Wood, pp. 144-5.

by those men they themselves had formerly visited. The common people hugged themselves up with the thoughts of a King, and of renewing their good old cause; they enjoyed their sports, especially May-games, more this year than hath been since, chiefly in opposition to Presbyterians and Fanatics, who had shown great anger before towards them. Further, also, they left nothing undone whereby they might express their joy. The Common Prayer Book, and Surplice, were restored in every Church and Chapel: and the service that had been lately practised, viz., a Psalm or two, two Chapters, and a prayer of the Priest's own making, with a little more, was laid aside. All tokens of monarchy, that were lately defaced or obscured in the University, were also restored, and new furbished over, and whatever was as yet fit to be introduced many did not spare to effect, and some outrun and overdo the Law, before the King and Parliament had commanded. But justice must now be done, statutes be put in force, and men have their rights, and enjoy their places, which they had been deprived of for these twelve years past."* "But they who were restored did not amount to one-sixth part of those ejected, they being either dead, or married, or had changed their religion."†

* *Annals of Oxford*, vol. ii. p. 697.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 701.

CHAPTER III.

Ken remains at Oxford after taking his Degree—Tutor of New College—Religious Discussions after the Restoration—Ken admitted to Holy Orders—Appointed to the living of Little Easton—Resigns the Cure—Made Chaplain to Bishop Morley—Fellow of Winchester College—Rector of Brighstone in the Isle of Wight—Prebendary of Winchester—Resigns Brighstone—Appointed to East Woodhay.



T required some time for the University to sober down from the tumult of rejoicings which followed the Restoration of the King.

“When Oliver was dead, and Richard dismounted, the scholars talked aloud, drank healths, and cursed Meroz in the very streets. Inſomuch, that when the King came in, nay, when he was but *voted* in, they were not only like them that dream, but like them who are out of their wits, mad, ſtark-ſtaring mad. To ſtudy was *Fanaticism*, to be moderate was down-right *Rebellion*: and thus it continued for a twelve-month; and thus it would have continued till this time, if it had not pleaſed God to raiſe up ſome Vice-Chancellors, who ſtemmed the torrent which carried ſo much filth with it.”*

It was, however, a great happineſs to Oxford, that the men who were reſtored to the offices of authority were deſervedly eſteemed for their public

* Stephen Penton's "Guardian's Inſtruction," 1688, 12mo. p. 44.

and private worth. They set themselves with an effectual energy to re-establish the ancient discipline.

“In defiance of the loyal zeal of the *Learned*, the drunken zeal of *Dunces*, and the great amazement of *young Gentlemen*, who really knew not what they would have, but yet made the greatest noise, they reduced the University to that temperament, that a man might study and not be thought a *Dullard*, might be sober and yet a *Conformist*, a scholar and yet a *Church of England-man*; and from that time the University became sober, modest, and studious as perhaps any in Europe.”*

Richard Allestry undertook one of the Lectureships of the city of Oxford solely with a view to instil principles of loyalty into the minds of the citizens; for he never received any part of the profits, but constantly distributed them among the poor.†

This improved condition of Oxford accorded well with Ken's quiet disposition: he continued his studies, and took his degree of Bachelor of Arts on the 3rd of May, 1661.‡ Mr. Bowles's suggestion, that he may have been Tutor in his College, is correct. It appears, from the *Liber Burfariorum* of 1661, that he received twenty-five shillings for each of three terms, as Lecturer in Logic, and an equal sum for one term, as Mathematical Tutor; and ten shillings for each of two terms, as Junior Moderator in Logic. Thus he could at the same time train his brother Wykehamists, and follow out his own plan of preparation for Holy

* Stephen Penton's "Guardian's Instruction," p. 45.

† Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 112.

‡ Wood's Fasti Oxonienses, vol. ii. p. 140.

Orders. And if at all times the Priest's office demand a spirit of self-sacrifice, it did so especially at this period, when the English Church had not yet recovered from her long depression. The return of kingly government had indeed hushed the storm in which she had been well nigh swept away : * but if, after the lapse of two centuries, she still suffers from the ravages of the Rebellion, her injuries were then recent and more keenly felt. Her discipline was relaxed, her doctrines set at nought, her services but partially restored,† her revenues alienated, her unity broken into fragments. And we have seen how the people were tainted by the general disorder and profligacy of the civil war.

Though the Church was in this sad state, Ken had resolved to devote himself to her service, and, with the zeal of a courageous and watchful Pastor, to obey the Good Shepherd's injunction, "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep." Oxford, freed from the turmoil of the Rebellion, was of all places best suited for his purpose. Here he could pursue a course of

* All the Bishops had been deprived : there were but nine alive at the time of the Restoration. Had Cromwell lived, it is difficult to say how they could have maintained the canonical succession. This was a subject of much anxious consultation among them. See Carwithen's History of the Church of England, 2nd edit. vol. ii. pp. 256-9.

† We may judge how effectually the Presbyterians had succeeded in compelling the disuse of the Liturgy, from Pepys's Diary six months after the Restoration, 4th November, 1660; "In the morning to our own Church, when Mr. Mills did begin to nibble at the Common Prayer by saying 'Glory be to the Father, &c.,' after he had read the two Psalms : but the people had been so little used to it, that they could not tell what to answer. After dinner I went to Westminster Abbey, where the first time that ever I heard the organs in a Cathedral."

theology without interruption. The Bodleian, and his College library, afforded ample stores of reference, especially in the works of the primitive Fathers, those venerable champions of Catholic truth, whom earnest-minded Christians, and especially the Reformers of our own Church, have ever held in honour, as witnesses of the time "when Christian religion was most pure, indeed golden."* In these retreats, cultivating his natural talents by a judicious course of study, he matured himself for his future calling. We cannot now expect to find many particulars of the life of an Oxford graduate two centuries ago. Ken's youthful character must be read in the account of his riper years, when his station in the Church called into public view the principles which he had imbibed. But every little incidental notice of his habits and disposition prepares us for the future. Thomas Hearne mentions, that "he was even then, when young, and a B.A. of New College, very pious and charitable, and used always to have small money to give away constantly, as he walked the streets, in pence or twopences, or more at a time, as he saw proper objects."†

Ken was too young to take any part in the religious discussions that followed quickly upon the King's return. Had he been then a Bishop, he would have used his influence on the side of conciliation, to moderate the violent reaction of public opinion against the Sectaries. Judging from his sentiments afterwards, that "the Church of England teaches me charity to

* Homily against "Peril of Idolatry." Third part, edition 1844, p. 288.

† Thomas Hearne's MSS. Journals in the Bodleian, vol. cvi. p. 27

those who dissent from me," we may believe that he would have acted in the spirit of his own prayer:—

"O my God, amidst the deplorable divisions of Thy Church, let me never widen its breaches, but give me catholic charity to all that are baptized in Thy Name, and catholic communion with all Christians in desire. O give me grace to pray daily for the peace of Thy Church, and earnestly to seek it, and to excite all I can to love and praise Thee."*

If the law of "an eye for an eye" was to be exacted, the Sectaries met with a just retribution amid the triumph of the people. But if the Gospel be the law of love, which should quicken our whole being; if forgiveness of injuries be the noblest prerogative of Christians, and entail the choicest blessings on those who exercise it, the English nation forgot the one and forfeited the other. The Presbyterians, who had before "endeavoured, without respect of persons, the extirpation of prelacy,"† were forward to promote the Restoration, and now lost no time in expressing their desire to be admitted into the Church. They were willing to yield many points for such a reconciliation, and offered the late Archbishop Ussher's scheme of Episcopacy as the principle of accommodation.‡

If, at the Restoration, the Royalists and Churchmen had followed the example of Jacob, in the affecting history of his reconciliation with Esau, they might

* Practice of Divine Love, edition 1686, 8vo. p. 50.

† See the "Solemn League and Covenant."

‡ Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. viii. p. 403.

have hoped for the blessing of peace, which rewarded the meek Patriarch. Now Esau hated his brother Jacob, and sought to slay him. But Jacob prepared for Esau a gift of peace. "For he said, I will appease him with a present, and afterward I will see his face: peradventure he will accept me." In this temper of love he met an angel; and the angel said to him, "As a Prince hast thou power with God, and with men, and hast prevailed:" "and he blessed him there." After the present had been sent forward, the brothers met, "and Jacob bowed himself to the ground, and Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck, and kissed him: and they wept."* This reminds us of a passage in Ken's sermon, preached before James II. at Whitehall after he was Bishop. The subject was, *the permitted sufferings of the Church of England for her sins*, under the type of the "Reformed Church of Judah." In allusion to the Dissenters, under the figure of the Edomites, the children of prophane Esau, he says, "And whenever such enemies as these attempt the ruin of God's Church, our Saviour has taught His followers how to encounter them; '*love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you.*'"†

It was during the course of his studies at New College that Ken was deprived by death of his sister, Anne Walton, on the 17th of April, 1662.‡ This loss

* Genesis xxxiii. 4.

† Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 144.

‡ Walton placed a tablet to her memory in Worcester Cathedral, where she was buried, in the "Lady Chapel," with the following affectionate testimony to her worth:—

must have touched him sensibly. To her affectionate care of him in his earliest years—to her piety and prudence, “her talents and acquirements, which were of a superior order,” we may attribute much of the early bias given to his character.

The serious and happy time of his receiving Holy Orders at length arrived. Having prepared himself by study and prayer, and chastisement of the will, to forsake the allurements and aims of the world, he attained to a humble “trust that he was inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon him this office and ministration, to serve God for the promoting of His glory, and the edifying of His people.”* He must have imbibed at an early age

EX TERRIS.

M. S.

Here lyeth buried so much as
could dye of ANNE, the Wife of

IZAACK WALTON,

who was

a woman of remarkable prudence,
and of the primitive piety; her great
and general knowledge being adorned
with such true humility, and blest
with so much Christian meekness, as
made her worthy of a more memorable
monument.

She dyed (Alas, that she is dead!)
the 17th of April, 1662, Aged 52.

STUDY TO BE LIKE HER.

Life of Izaak Walton, by Sir Harris Nicolas (prefixed to The Complete Angler, Pickering's ed., p. lxx.), who suggests, with great probability, that she died in the Palace at Worcester, whilst on a visit with her husband to his intimate friend Dr. George Morley, Bishop of the Diocese.

* Ordination Service.

the love of God, which was so constantly exemplified throughout his more advanced years. Some men are more or less holy in their lives from a sense of the beauty of moral virtue; some from the hope of present or future reward; others from fear of the consequences of sin. The governing principle of Ken's life was the LOVE OF GOD. If we desire a key to the exact estimate of his character, as circumstances unfold it to us, we shall find it in this remarkable particular,—that *loving* God supremely above all, he fought first, and before every other object, to *glorify* Him. To this the whole man was dedicated, in the full measure of his capacities and opportunities. Under all changes of fortune, we shall perceive a simplicity of heart, a quiet security of resolve, unswayed by any fear or motive of the world, a calm, generous, cheerful confidence, which could never have been so uniform, had his desires and confidence been fixed on any object short of heaven. His sermons, poems, prayers, and expositions,—above all the actions of his chequered life, exhibit forcibly that habitual supreme ardour of love, which we call *devotion*. It must have grown with his growth, until it formed an essential part of his nature. This “Love of God,” as he himself says, “*is a Grace rather to be felt than defined*. It is the general inclination and tendency of the whole man, of his heart, and soul, and strength, of all his powers and affections, of the utmost strength of them all, to God, as his chief and only, and perfect, and infinite Good.”

Even his familiar letters begin and end with some expression of holy zeal;—as, “All glory to God;”—

“God keep us in His reverential fear and love;”—or, “God keep us resigned to His will, and mindful of eternity,” &c. If we open his “Practice of Divine Love” in any part, this absorbing affection is at once presented to us. To give only one passage:—

“I believe, O my God, that Thou art a Spirit most pure, and holy, and infinite in all perfections, in Power, and Knowledge, and Goodness; that Thou art eternal, immutable, and omniscient; all Love, all Glory be to Thee. I believe that Thou art most wise and just, most happy and glorious, and all-sufficient, most gracious and merciful, and tender, and benign, and liberal, and beneficent; all Love, all Glory be to Thee. I believe Thy Divine Nature, O my God, to be in all respects amiable, to be Amiableness itself, to be Love itself; and therefore I love, I admire, I praise, and I adore Thee. Thou, Lord, art my Hope, my Trust, my Life, my Joy, my Glory, my God, my All, my LOVE.”*

It is doubtful at what precise time he was ordained. Search has been made in the records of various Dioceses to discover the date; but it has proved fruitless. Hawkins does not inform us; Bowles supposes it to have been soon after he took his degree in 1661;† Wood, that it was after his Master’s degree in 1664. It must have been some time in 1662, when he was twenty-five years old. In the *Liber Burfariorum* of that year, there is an entry, under the head of “*Solutio facta SACERDOTIBUS*,” “*Sol. Dno. Ken pro 3bus Terminis 1l. 10s.*” Wood intimates that he was made Chaplain to Lord Maynard, as his first step to promotion.‡

* Practice of Divine Love, edition 1686, p. 21.

† Bowles’s Life of Ken, vol. i. p. 91.

‡ Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 989.

Bowles* and Wood† say his first living was Brightstone, in the Isle of Wight; Hawkins, East Woodhay, in Hampshire.‡ But it is certain that he was instituted on the presentation of William, Lord Maynard, to the Rectory of Little Easton, in the hundred of Dunmow in Essex, on the 20th of August, 1663,§ still retaining his Fellowship at New College. Wood seems to have mistaken this for an appointment as Chaplain. Hawkins does not mention the Chaplaincy, and there is no record of it in the Faculty Office; on the contrary, we find an entry of the appointment of David Nichols, as Chaplain to Lord Maynard, in the preceding year.|| There is a letter in New College from Ken to the Warden, which might lead to the inference that he was even at this early period, Chaplain to Bishop Morley. It is dated 6th August, 1663, and asks leave of absence till the following Easter, saying that his "absence is contriv'd by my Lord of Winton himself." But it appears more probable that he was not Chaplain to the Bishop until some time in 1665.

The Parish Church of Little Easton is just without the limits of the Park of Easton Lodge, the seat of Lord Maynard. Ken had the happiness to be supported in his efforts for the good of his people by the countenance and example of the noble family at the Lodge. In his funeral sermon on Lady Margaret

* Bowles's *Life of Ken*, vol. i. p. 115.

† *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 989.

‡ *Life of Ken*, p. 6.

§ "EASTON PARVA: P. Dunmow. Thomas Ken, 20 Aug. 1663, per mortem Dockley. Wms. Doms. Maynard, Bⁿ. Easton." Records of the Diocese of London, in the Faculty Office.

|| Records of the Faculty Office, April 28, 1662.

Maynard,* twenty years afterwards, we have this testimony to the friendship that subsisted between them :—

“ Say, all you who have been eye-witnesses to her life, did you from her very cradle ever know her other than a gracious woman? *As to myself I have had the honour to know her near twenty years, and to be admitted to her most intimate thoughts*; and I cannot but think, upon the utmost of my observation, that she always preserved her baptismal innocence, and that she never committed any one mortal sin, which put her out of the state of grace. Infomuch, that after all the frequent and severe examinations of her own conscience, her confessions were made up of no other than sins of infirmity, and yet even for them she had as deep humiliation, and as penitential a sorrow, as high a sense of the Divine forgiveness, and lov’d as much, as if she had *much to be forgiven.*” †

We gather valuable notices of his own ministry from this eloquent sermon in praise of his early friend. When he applauds Lady Margaret for “*daily frequenting the service of the Temple,*” and for “*offering up to God, morning and evening, the public services,*” he clearly indicates that he was himself in Church to lead them. He would surely not have reminded the people how “*to prayers she added fasting, till her weakness made it impossible to her constitution,*” unless he had in his daily walk set them the example of a strict and

* She was Lady Margaret Murray before her marriage, being daughter of the Earl of Dyfart, in Scotland; sister also to the Dukes of Lauderdale.

† A SERMON preached at the Funeral of the Right Honourable the Lady Margaret Maynard, at Little Easton in Essex, on the 30th of June, 1682, by Dr. Thomas Ken. On Prov. xi. 16, “*A Gracious Woman retaineth Honour* :” 4to. 1688, 3rd edit.

austere life. When he speaks of her “*enlarged devotions on the Fasts and Festivals of the Church,*” who but himself encouraged and assisted her in them? * If “*she never failed on all opportunities to approach the Holy Altar,*” came with a spiritual hunger and thirst to that heavenly feast, and communicated with a lively and endearing remembrance of her crucified Saviour,” it was himself who afforded those frequent occasions.

We may see in his Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of his diocese, after he became a Bishop, † how earnestly he exhorts them to the duty of daily service. “But your greatest zeal,” he says, “must be spent for the public prayers, in the constant and devout use of which, the public safety, both of Church and State, is highly concerned. *Be sure then to offer up to God, every day, the Morning and Evening Prayer; offer it up in your family at least; or rather, as far as your circumstances will possibly permit, offer it up in the Church. Go, though you go alone, or but with one besides yourself;* and there, as God’s ‘remembrancer, keep not silence, and give Him no rest, till He establish, till He make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.’” ‡ He knew the practical value of daily service as enjoined by the Rubric; and that, if men are to have their affections raised to something higher than this care-worn world, it must be through the consistent example of a devout, steadfast, laborious

* See Ken’s Practice of Divine Love, in the Exposition of the Fourth Commandment: “Give me grace to sanctify the Feasts and Fasts of Thy Church, as in the number of those happy days, set apart for the remembrance of Thy Love.” Edit. 1686, p. 84.

† A Pastoral Letter from the Bishop of Bath and Wells to his Clergy, concerning their Behaviour during Lent. 1686, 4to.

‡ Isaiah lxii. 6, 7.

clergy. How can the people be expected to obey the injunctions of the Church, if their Pastors maintain a different rule, after the varying standard of their own judgment and convenience? It is vain to preach to them the privileges of public worship, so long as the Priests themselves disobey, and keep their Church doors closed against the "little flock!" There may on Sundays be a gathering of the refined and educated, brought up in a love of order, and willing to attend once a week, if only to set an example to their household and dependents. But the poor, the labourer, the rude uncultivated mass,—still more the sabbath-breaker, the drunkard, the licentious and unbelieving, will never be converted from the power of evil under a languid inexpressive system, such as now prevails in the majority of our parishes.

The memorable Dr. Hammond, in his "Vindication of the Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England," expresses an opinion, that its abolition in the time of the Rebellion might have been *permitted by God in judgment for* (among other things) *the disuse of Daily Service*, or, as he calls it, "our general scandalous unexcusable disobedience to the *command of our Church, which requires that Service to be used constantly in public every day.*"* It was a rule adopted by Bishop Wilson, in conformity with "the Church's express command in one of the Rubrics before the Calendar, *never to miss the Church's public devotions twice a day*, when unavoidable business, want of

* Lives of English Divines, by William Henry Teale, M.A., 1846, p. 137.

health, or of a church, as in travelling, does not hinder.”*

“WHY ARE THE CHURCH DOORS SHUT?”

Why are our Churches shut with jealous care,
 Bolted and barr'd against our bosom's yearning,
 Save for the few short hours of Sabbath prayer,
 With the bell's tolling steadily returning?
 Why are they shut?

What! shall the Church,—the House of Prayer no more,—
 Give tacit notice from its fastened portals,
 That for six days 'tis useless to adore,
 Since God will hold no communings with mortals?
 Why are they shut?

Are there no sinners in the cheerless week,
 Who wish to sanctify a vow'd repentance?
 Are there no hearts bereft, which fain would seek
 The only balm for Death's un pitying sentence?
 Why are they shut?

Are there no poor, no wrong'd, no heirs of grief,
 No sick, who when their strength or courage falters,
 Long for a moment's respite or relief,
 By kneeling at the God of Mercy's altars?
 Why are they shut?

If there be one—one only—who might share
 This sanctifying week-day adoration,
 Were but our Churches open to his prayer,
 Why, I demand with earnest iteration—
 Why are they shut?

HORACE SMITH.

The lower orders of the people have a keen sense of the nonconformity of those set over them, and of *their equal right to adopt their own measure of obedience.*

* Crutwell's *Life of Thomas Wilson*, D.D., Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man, 4to. 1781, vol. ii. p. 7. Many other great authorities might be given to the same purport, if space would permit.

Many perhaps could not, or would not at first, attend the daily services, or observe the festivals, even if offered to them; yet they can appreciate the affectionate and untiring zeal of their clergy in giving them the opportunity. Of this we have a touching example in "some of the meaner sort" of George Herbert's parish, "who did so love and reverence him, that they would let their plough rest when his Saints-bell rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him; and would then return back to their plough. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God and to him, that they thought themselves the happier, when they carried Mr. Herbert's blessing back with them to their labour. Thus powerful was his reason and example to persuade others to a practical piety and devotion."* And what, if there be some within the parish who secretly sigh after the absent services, and are debarred from the sympathy of common prayer? what, if the aged and infirm, or the suffering, or the penitent, long to wend their way to the sanctuary—and may not? Who shall bear the reproach? or who render the account?

Lady Margaret was a woman of admirable understanding and faithful memory, cultivated by reading and reflection:—

"She took not up her religion on an implicit Faith, or from Education only, but from a well-studied choice, directed by God's Holy Spirit, whose guidance she daily invoked, and when once she had made that choice, she was immovable as a rock, and *so well satisfied in the Catholic faith, profess*

* Life of George Herbert, Zouch's edition of Walton's Lives, vol. ii. p. 95.

in the Church of England, that I make no doubt, but she always liv'd, not only with the strictness of a primitive Saint, but with the resolution also of a Martyr. It was strange to hear how strongly she would argue, how clearly she understood the force of a consequence, and how ready at all times she was 'to give a reason of the hope that was in her with meekness and fear.' Her letters, which were found in her cabinet, not to be delivered till after her death, and very many others in the hands of her relations, sufficiently show how good, and how great she was. They are penn'd in so proper and unaffected a style, and animated throughout with so divine a spirit, and such ardours of devotion and charity, as might have become a *Proba*, or *Monica*, or the most eminent of her sex."

Ken adds, "when she came home from Church, she recollected and wrote out of her memory abstracts of all the sermons she heard, which are in great numbers amongst her papers." Search has been made without success for these abstracts. If we may judge from Ken's few discourses that are extant, they would have deserved the praise bestowed on Lactantius,* of a divine fluent excellence, favouring of a mind that was truly mortified, and intended to bring his auditors to a resolved course of sanctification and piety.

It was no slight testimony to Ken's worth to have gained, at that early age, the friendship of this noble-minded woman, and of Lord Maynard, who was in all respects worthy of such a wife. His unbending loyalty, and firm adherence to the fortunes of the King, had exposed him to the violence of Cromwell. Though his zeal in the royal cause had brought upon him an

* The Glory of their Times; or, Lives of the Primitive Fathers, 1640. 8vo. p. 152.

impeachment by the Parliament in 1647,* he was one of the small but fearless number of Peers who met in their House, and unanimously refused to concur with the Commons in their resolution to bring Charles to a public trial. Lord Maynard's great authority at Court after the Restoration † may have had some influence on Ken's later advancement: but his merits were too well known both at Oxford and Winchester to permit his remaining long in the retirement of Little Easton. Besides, it was natural that Izaak Walton, the friend of Bishops Sheldon, Sanderfon, and Duppa,—and, above all, of the munificent Morley,—should see his brother Ken advanced to more responsible duties, and a wider sphere of usefulness.

Notwithstanding their different stations in life, a warm and lasting attachment subsisted between Morley and Walton. The divine was ardent, the layman placid in temperament; but their friendship was cemented by an agreement of opinion on subjects of deepest interest to them, as Christian men,—by the same enduring loyalty, and the same studious devout course

* Collins's Peerage, vol. vi. p. 491.

† He was made Comptroller of the Household to Charles II., but was removed in the reign of James II. because he would not compromise his religious principles. Markland's Life of Ken, p. 46. He was a munificent benefactor to the Church. In Kennett's Case of Improvements (8vo. 1704, p. 323) his piety is thus recorded:—"We are lately told that the Honourable William, Lord Maynard, within the space of three years, gave by will 4,000*l.* to charitable uses, and the one half of it for the augmentation of Thaxted Vicarage; and, in the next year, his pious and charitable sister, the Lady Bovey, who had given much in her lifetime, bequeathed 300*l.* at her death to the Vicarage of Warden, in Bedfordshire." This statement is made by Kennett on the authority of "*The Reasonableness of the Augmentation of poor Vicarages*," Preface, p. x.

of life. Walton was at this time, and had been for several years, either at Worcester or Winchester, the constant and familiar inmate of the Bishop's Palace.* Under his roof he wrote the Lives of Richard Hooker, George Herbert, and Bishop Sanderfon, revised his former Lives of Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton, and also, in a fifth and last edition, enlarged his *Complete Angler*.

Here, also, we may believe, Ken had often found a welcome, in the intervals of his later studies at Oxford. His devout tone of mind, his simple manners, and lively conversation, could not but attract the Bishop's esteem, as they had won the confidence of others. Wherever he had been he had behaved himself wisely, for he loved his Master's service: this was in reality the secret spring of his gradual rising to greater eminence in the Church. The author of the Life of John Kettlewell says, "Bishop Morley had a particular regard for Thomas Ken."†

On the 21st of January, 1664, he took the degree of Master of Arts.‡ Having retained the Rectory of Little Easton for two years, he resigned it into the hands of his friend Lord Maynard, on the 11th of April, 1665.§ It was now, perhaps, that Bishop Morley called him to Winchester, and made him his own chaplain.|| Anthony Wood and the author of Kettlewell's Life,¶ copying from Hawkins,** date this

* Bishop Morley was consecrated to Worcester, 18th October, 1660, and translated to Winchester in 1662. † 8vo. 1718, p. 423.

‡ Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 158.

§ Records of the Diocese of London, "EASTON PARVA. Jos. Plume S. T. B. 11 April, 1665, per cefs. Tho. Kenne."

|| *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 989.

¶ P. 423, 8vo. ed. 1718.

** Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 6.

appointment in 1667: but that is clearly too late. And probably 1665 was the period when he first undertook the gratuitous cure of St. John's, a forsaken parish in the Soke at Winchester, which also some years afterwards appears to have formed part of his laborious duties.

Anthony Wood says of Ken's Oxford life, that "his towardliness towards good letters and virtue were observed by the Seniors:" therefore his merits were well known to the Warden and Fellows of Winchester, who had themselves all been at New College. On a vacancy occurring at Winchester, he was unanimously elected a Fellow on the 8th of December, 1666, resigning, of course, his Oxford Fellowship.* Thus he found himself restored to the beloved scene of his youth,—the venerable and classic Winchester. "There his most exemplary goodness and piety did eminently exert itself; for that College being chiefly designed by its Founder for a retired and studious life, what could a great and generous spirit propose but the good of souls, and the glory of that God, to whom he constantly ascribed it, even in his most familiar letters. For '*Glory to God*' was his constant Prescript to all his letters and papers."† But the life of a recluse was adverse to the bent of his desires. Some responsible work in the cure of souls was better adapted to one so

* See Records of Winchester College. He did not in after life forget his old chambers, the "*Rose*" and "*Baptist's Head*." "As soon as his circumstances would permit, he gave to New College upwards of one hundred pounds, as a small acknowledgment for his education, and towards the erecting of their New Building." Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 3.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 4.

loving and zealous, and so highly gifted. The Bishop, therefore, on the 6th of July, 1667, collated him to the Rectory of Brightstone,*—a cheerful little village on the sunny side of the Isle of Wight, sheltered from cold winds by overhanging hills, with a goodly church, and a near prospect of the sea.

There, removed from the observation of all but his small confiding flock, he again exercised himself in the duties of the Christian ministry, persuading men to the fear of God, and converting them from the power of sin to the free love of their Heavenly Father. If there be "joy in the presence of the Angels of God over one sinner that repenteth," what an accession of delight shall it be to a faithful priest to meet that soul in Heaven, reclaimed from sin, and brought back to the fold by his holy counsels, his example, and his prayers! No voice, perhaps, may proclaim his praise on earth,—not even gratitude repay his service: yet when the Lamb shall open the Seals, and *that one* be found written "in the book of remembrance," as having feared the Lord, and thought upon His Name,—then he that was turned to righteousness, and he that was the happy instrument, "shall be Mine, saith the Lord, in that day when I make up My jewels."

Brightstone was about four miles from Carisbrook Castle. Surely one "brought up at the feet" of such devoted loyalists as Morley and Walton, would sometimes visit the spot (still hallowed to our recollections) where Charles I., twenty years before, had been im-

* In the Ordination Books of the Record Office it is spelt,
 "BRIXTON, 6 July, 1667. Thomas Ken, Clericus, A.M.,
 per mortem Richardi Russell."

prisoned. Ken could not but remember the late King's martyrdom : with what deep and melancholy interest, therefore, would he trace the paths where he had walked for his exercise on the ramparts, and played at bowls on the barbican ! There, as he looked out "on the delightful prospect both to the sea and land,"* he would recall the anxious times when the royal captive had conversed, on that very spot, with Hammond and Sheldon, on the dismal state of the Church, and the crisis of his own fortunes. He would probably linger in the denuded room, where Charles used to beguile the wearisome hours in reading "the sacred Scripture, the book he most delighted in,"† Andrewes's Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Herbert's divine Poems, &c. : and where, perhaps, he wrote those parts of the *Εἰκὼν βασιλική*, which bear such internal evidence of his authorship, as must carry conviction to every mind that they were penned by himself.‡

* Memoirs of the last two years of the reign of Charles I., by Sir Thomas Herbert, p. 60.

† Ibid. p. 61.

‡ I do not mean by this to infer that the whole of the *Eikon Basilike* was the composition of the King. The conflicting testimony to his exclusive authorship is scarcely settled even by the researches of Dr. Wordsworth, late Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. See his interesting volume, "WHO WROTE EIKON BASILIKE?" 8vo. 1817. Whifton, in his Memoirs, p. 353, says, "I take it to be undeniable that the King highly approved, and frequently corrected the copy with his own hand, till it truly expressed the sense of his own mind, and so was his true *Portraiture*, as the title signifies it to be," viz., "EIKON BASILIKE : the true Portraiture of his sacred Majesty in his solitudes and sufferings." 1648. For instance, what other man could have penetrated into the deep fightings of his conscience, when he confessed that nothing had occasioned him such remorse as his having consented to the death of the Earl of Strafford : "I never bore any touch of conscience with greater

Bishop Morley exacted a strict obedience to the Rubric in regard to daily prayers, and the observance of the Fasts and Festivals throughout his diocese: we are not, therefore, left to surmise whether Ken's practice was the same here as at Little Easton. It would appear that his Parish duties were sometimes interrupted by attendance on the Bishop at Winchester House in Chelsea.* In the Diary of Mary, Countess of Warwick, who also had a house at Chelsea, and attended the services of the Old Church, we have occasional notices of his preaching there. She was sister to the illustrious Robert Boyle; and worthy of the relationship, being no less remarkable than himself for her pious and charitable disposition.† She records in her Diary the impression made upon her mind by many of the most eminent preachers of the day, to whose private discourse and public exhortations it was her delight to listen. Speaking of Bishop Morley, she says, that her heart was "much affected by a very

regret." Who but Charles himself could have poured out the sorrows of his inmost soul in the prayer which follows this confession? beginning, "*Thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive me that act of sinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon me than upon any man, since I had not the least temptation or malice against him, and by my place should at least so far have been a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.*"

* Morley paid 4,000*l.* for this house, which was annexed to the see of Winchester. *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 771.

† She was so eminent for her bounty to the poor, that when the Earl, her husband, died, it was said (as anticipating how she would employ it), "*he had left his estate to charitable uses.*" And so it proved. "Such was the fame of her charity and hospitality, that it advanced the rent of the houses in her neighbourhood, where she was the common arbitress of controversies, which she decided with great sagacity and judgment, and prevented many tedious and expensive lawsuits." *Granger's Biographical History*, 4th edition, vol. iv. p. 166.

searching sermon" which he preached at Chelsea; and on another occasion, that she had "a great deal of good discourse"* with him. Her notices of his Chaplain are more frequent and emphatic, and doubly valuable from being recorded by such a hand:

"*Easter Day, 7th April, 1667.* Went to Church, where I heard Mr. Ken preach; his text was, 1 John, ch. iii. ver. 3. '*And every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as He is pure.*' I was very attentive at the sermon, and moved by it: when sermon was done, I found my heart exceedingly to long after the blessed Feast: and when I remembered the sufferings of my Saviour, I did weep bitterly, and with great earnestness begged of God to give me Christ; my heart was much carried out to bless God, and I had there such sweet communion with Him, that I could say it was good for me to be there." †

"*Sunday, 22nd December, 1667.* After I came home in the afternoon from hearing Mr. Ken, God was pleased to move my heart to speak to my Lord about things of everlasting concernment; and I was enabled, in an awakened frame of spirit, to persuade him to repentance, and to make his peace with God." ‡

"*Christmas, 25th December, 1667.* In the afternoon, Mr. Ken preached: his text was, '*For this cause was the Son of God manifested in the flesh, that he might destroy the works of the Devil.*' I was attentive and affected at the Sermon. I did in discourse with the young ladies warn them to be careful to keep their engagements, made to God at the Sacrament." §

"*Sunday, 9th February, 1668.* I went to Church to hear

* Memoir of the Countess of Warwick, and her Diary, 1847, 12mo. p. 147. This contains only a small part of the original MSS. Diary: we may hope that the remainder, being in the possession of Mr. Pickering, will hereafter be published.

† Memoir of Lady Warwick, and her Diary, 1847, 12mo. p. 107.

‡ Ibid. p. 138.

§ Ibid. p. 140.

Mr. Ken preach : his text was, '*Behold thou art made whole, sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee.*' John v. 14. It was a very good sermon, and God was pleased much to affect my heart with it; and whilst he was preaching upon that passage, '*sin no more,*' God was pleased to make me, with strong desires and many tears, to beg power against sin for the time to come." *

For two short years this holy messenger delivered the glad tidings of peace, and administered the services of the Church to the comfort of his people at Brightstone, —when Bishop Morley called him back to Winchester; for, "without any application made on his behalf, he preferred him to the dignity of Prebendary in the Cathedral Church in Winton, and he was installed accordingly, April 12, 1669." † In the following month, that he might have him nearer to his own person, the Bishop gave him the Rectory of East Woodhay, vacant by the removal of his former tutor at Oxford, Robert Sharrock, ‡ who had been Greek Lecturer in New College at the time when Ken was an undergraduate. §

It was inconsistent with Ken's views of the minif-

* Memoir of Lady Warwick, and her Diary, 1847, 12mo. p. 146.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 6.

‡ Ordination Books in the Record Office;

"EAST WOODHAY, 28th May, 1669, Thomas Ken, A.M., per resignationem Robert Sharrock."

§ *Liber Burfariorum* of New College. Robert Sharrock was D.C.L. in New College, Oxford, Prebendary and Archdeacon of Winchester, and Rector of Bishop's Waltham, in Hampshire. He bore the character of a good divine, was learned in civil and common law, and "very knowing in vegetables." He published works on all those subjects. His "*History of the Propagation and Improvement of Vegetables,*" &c., Oxford, 1660, was written at the suggestion of Robert Boyle, to whom it is dedicated. See *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 767; and Groome's *Dignity of the Clergy*, 1710, p. 150.

terial office to hold more than one living, though it was then a common custom. On the very day of his being collated to Woodhay, the 28th of May, 1669, he resigned Brighthone into the hands of the Bishop, who appointed as his successor, the Rev. John Fitzwilliam, a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.* To this day "*Bishop Ken's yew bedge*" is shown as a cherished memorial, in the Rectory garden, at Brighthone; and his name still imparts to the church and village "a sweet favour" of holy things.

He was, perhaps, unconscious at the time how deep an impression his example had made on his successor. It does not appear what degree of intimacy now subsisted between them; but the similarity of their characters, and the entire confidence and regard of their Bishop, which both enjoyed, might justify the belief that they were warmly attached to each other; and twenty years afterwards, when Ken was no longer in affluence, and a deprived Bishop, John Fitzwilliam gave him a solid proof of his affection and respect; for he made him executor to his will, and left him for his life the yearly interest on 500*l.*, which was afterwards to go to Magdalen College.†

* Ordination Books in the Record Office;

"BRIXTON, 28th May, 1669, John Fitzwilliam per resignationem Thom. Ken."

† This most worthy man, John Fitzwilliam, was Lady Rachel Russell's friend and correspondent, her adviser and spiritual comforter, for many years after the execution of her husband, William, Lord Russell. He composed prayers for her use, and drew arguments of comfort from the very greatness of her loss, which might be all the more sad, yet, at the same time, was rendered more endurable, by reflecting on the virtues of her deceased Lord. Acknowledging one of his many letters, she says, "I did with much eagerness read on, and must acquiesce in much

Ken held the living of Woodhay from the 28th of May, 1669, to the 8th of November, 1672,* (when his friend George Hooper succeeded him,) fulfilling the offices of his cure with the same devotedness as at Brighton and Little Easton,—with the same affectionate care for the spiritual and bodily wants of his people, the same diligence in visiting, catechizing, reading the Scriptures and preaching to them,—the same zeal in gaining by whatever means precious souls to God—the same ascetic life, which was “a continual death to animal appetites.” In the parish register of Woodhay is an entry of the baptism of “Rose Ken, daughter of Mr. Ion Ken, born 23rd June, 1670.” This Ion† Ken was an elder brother, married to Rose,

of it with you; and as I began the day with your letter, and the sheets of discourse, both enclosed in one paper, so I conclude it with some prayers you formerly assisted me with.” *Letters of Lady Rachel Russell*, 6th edition, 1801, p. 65. The prayers here referred to are supposed to have been Ken’s Manual. It will be seen at a later period, what a respect Lady Russell entertained for Bishop Ken.

* Ordination Books in the Record Office;

“EAST WOODHAY, 8 Nov^r. 1672. George Hooper per resignationem Thomæ Ken.”

† Ken had two elder brothers, John and Ion: the latter was Treasurer to the East India Company. This unusual Christian name of “Ion” was derived from the grandfather, Ion Chalkhill, of Kingsbury, in the county of Middlesex. In the parish register of St. Giles, Cripplegate, where Ken, the father, resided for many years, the name of his second son is entered as “Hyon.” See Bowles’s *Life of Ken*, vol. i. p. 114. See also Pedigrees of the families of Chalkhill and Ken, in Dr. Markland’s *Life of Ken*, Appendix, p. 126; and in the Appendix to Sir Harris Nicolas’s *Life of Izaak Walton*. A person of the name of Ken is mentioned in the *Lives of the Norths* (edition 1826, vol. i. p. 314); in connection with Scroggs and Guy, as one of the “high court-rakes,”—this Guy being elsewhere noticed as a member “of those facetious parties which enlivened the suppers of Charles II. in the private apartments of his favourite ladies.” See *Life of Anthony à Wood*, note to p. 189. If this was Ken’s brother Ion, it is not pro-

sister of Sir Thomas Vernon, of Coleman-street; it appears, therefore, that our Thomas Ken (himself unalterably dedicated to a single life) had the society of his brother's family in the parsonage house.

I have given the particular dates of Ken's preferments, at the risk of being tedious, because his biographers are not quite accurate in the order of them. Hawkins says, "soon after he was Fellow of Winchester College, Dr. George Morley, then Bishop of that diocese, presented him to the parsonage of Woodhay in Hampshire;"* he omits his previous appointments to Little Easton and Brightstone. Wood assumes that, "after he had held Woodhay a little while, he resigned it into his Lordship's hands, under the pretence of conscience, thinking he had enough without it,"† meaning that he still retained Brightstone. Bowles, adopting this error, says, "though a Fellow of a college, and a dignitary of a cathedral, he was a pluralist into the bargain; but soon after being presented to Woodhay, he resigned it though tenable with Brightstone," supposing that he held this last *after* Woodhay, instead of before.

In fact, Ken declined any pastoral cure, the duties of which he could not personally perform. There was no anxious desire to accumulate benefices on himself. He no doubt agreed in opinion with Bernard Gilpin, who used to say: "As for me, I can never

bable that he was often an inmate in the Parsonage at Woodhay. It could not be his eldest brother John; for he died in 1651, before Charles came to the throne: he bequeathed 25*l.* each to his brothers Ion and Thomas.

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 6. † Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. p. 989.

persuade myself to take the profit, and let another take the pains; for if he should teach and preach as faithfully as ever St. Austin did, yet should I not think myself discharged.”*

This was, a few years afterwards, the solemn resolution of one of the most humble and beloved bishops that has ever adorned the English episcopate,—good Bishop Wilton, of Sodor and Man. On being ordained a priest, and before he had received any preferment, he settled in his own mind “*certain things, to which, after serious consideration, I think fit to oblige myself, in the beginning of my days, that I may not be tempted by any worldly advantage to sin against God—do violence to my conscience—scandalize that holy profession of the ministry, to which it has pleased God to call me,—nor bring a curse upon what it shall please Him to put into my hands.*” Amongst other things: “Considering the scandal and injury of pluralities to the Church, I resolve never to accept two Church livings with cure of souls (if such should be ever in my choice), though ever so conveniently seated. I resolve that, whenever it shall please God to bless me with a parish and a cure of souls, I will reside upon it myself, and not trust that to a curate which ought to be my own particular care.”† To this he faithfully adhered; for when he was made a Bishop, and his affectionate patron, the Earl of Derby, offered him the second time a valuable living in Yorkshire, to hold in commendam, “the conscientious prelate refused,‡ as utterly inconsistent

* Gilpin's *Life of Bernard Gilpin*, 1753, p. 61.

† Cruttwell's *Life of Thomas Wilton, D.D.*, Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man, vol. ii. p. 8.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 18.

with his duty ;” although he had lately been put to an expense of 1400*l.* in rebuilding the episcopal house, which he found in a ruinous state, from its not having been inhabited for eight years. The revenues of his bishopric were but 300*l.* a year, of which he had already dedicated two-tenths to charity :—this proportion he afterwards increased to three, and then to four-tenths, finding that “ he had enough to spare over and above a decent hospitality, and being convinced that he was no proprietor, but only a steward, of the Church’s patrimony.”* But he knew that if he accepted the living in commendam, he must necessarily be absent either from that or from his bishopric ; and he says, “ it does not yet repent me of the obligation I formerly laid myself under of never taking two ecclesiastical preferments with cure of souls.” †

Born at no very distant periods, and taking an opposite view of their line of duty on one subject (the oath of allegiance to William III.), Ken and Wilton closely resembled each other in the best features of the Christian character. Both unspotted in youth,—both zealous in the highest and lowest functions,—both sufferers in bonds for conscience sake,—both remarkable for single-mindedness, self-denial, almsgiving, and a devotional spirit, they have left their names as bright examples to men of every station in the Church.

* Cruttwell’s *Life of Thomas Wilton, D.D., Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man*, vol. ii. p. 38.

† *Ibid.* p. 18.

CHAPTER IV.

Ken resigns the Rectory of Woodhay—His character as a Country Parson—Mr. Isaac Milles of Highclere—Character of Bishop Morley—Ken's duties at Winchester.



HE probable occasion of Ken's resigning Woodhay was the desire of the Bishop, now advancing in years, to secure his society and undivided services at Winchester; for the labours of the diocese required such an assistant. Moreover, he designed the living for Ken's early friend, George Hooper, already a Canon of Christ Church. Of Hooper it is recorded, that "he distinguished himself above his contemporaries by his superior knowledge in philosophy, mathematics, Greek and Roman antiquities:"* "he studied the oriental languages (in which as well as the mathematics he was a great master) under Dr. Pococke, with whom he used to correspond on that subject by letters. And when he was removed from Oxford to London, the Rabbis of the Synagogue there used to bring him anything that was curious in that way."† A long, consistent, and exemplary life,

* Cassan's *Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells*, 8vo. 1829, p. 168.

† MS. Memoir of Dr. Hooper, by his daughter, Mrs. Prowse: in the possession of Lady Mordaunt. A portion of this interesting manuscript, the whole of which deserves to be printed, is to be found in the Appendix to the *Life and Times of William III.*, by the Honourable Arthur Trevor. 8vo. 1836.

in public and private, is the best of all testimonies to his great worth.

The Bishop had written to Hooper two years before, to request that he would be his chaplain. "I dare not," he says, "do a man of your parts and hopes so great an injury as to take you from what you have at Christ Church (which Mr. Dean tells me is very considerable) before I have anything to give you in lieu of it. I shall, therefore, for your sake, and for your sake only, defer the contentment I expect and promise myself from your being with me, until something or other falls in my gift, which may secure you and me, so that we shall not have cause to repent of it. In the meantime I do assure you that, if you will keep yourself for me, I will keep myself for you, without taking or thinking of any other Chaplain besides him I have already (*i. e.* Ken). Farewell, and pray for your loving friend,

GEO. WINTON.*

"*Chelfay, May, 1670.*"

In 1672 a vacancy occurring at Havant, in Hampshire, which was in the Bishop's gift, he bestowed it on Hooper, and appointed him his Chaplain. It was an unhealthy place, and on coming into residence, he got the ague: so it was agreed among them all that Ken should resign Woodhay to his friend, and transfer himself to Winchester. It would be interesting to know what now became of the family of his brother Ion, who would, of course, be obliged to leave the Parsonage-house.† It is no stretch of fancy to look

* Mrs. Prowse's MS. Memoir of Dr. Hooper.

† As Ion Ken was Treasurer to the East India Company, his principal

back upon Ken in all his parochial cures as the unconscious original, from which, in one of his poems, he has painted the character of a true Pastor,—a portrait traced with somewhat of the rich colouring and bold outlines of Dryden, and bringing himself before us in vivid full-length:—

“ Give me the Priest who at judicious age,
And duly call'd, in Priesthood shall engage ;
With dispositions natural and acquir'd,
With strong propensions for the function fir'd ;
Whom GOD by opportunity invites,
To consecrate himself to sacred rites ;
Who still keeps *Jesus* in his heart and head,
And strives in steps of our Arch Priest to tread ;
Who can himself and all the world deny,
Lives pilgrim here, but denizen on high ;
Whose business is, like *Jesus*, to save souls,
And with all ghostly miseries condole.

Give me the Priest these graces shall possess,—
Of an ambassador the just address :
A father's tenderness, a shepherd's care,
A leader's courage, which the Cross can bear ;
A ruler's awe, a watchman's wakeful eye,
A pilot's skill the helm in storms to ply ;
A fisher's patience, and a labourer's toil,
A guide's dexterity to disembroil ;
A prophet's inspiration from above,
A teacher's knowledge, and a Saviour's Love.

residence must have been in London, and thither his family would naturally return. His daughter, Martha, was married to Christopher Frederick Krienberg, Ordinary Resident for the Elector of Hanover in London. Ion probably died before 1707 ; for in that year the Bishop writes about his “ poor sister Ken, now in great affliction for the loss of her only son who died at Cyprus,” and makes no mention of his brother.*

* *Prose Works of Ken*, by Round, p. 93.

Give me the Priest, a light upon a hill,
Whose rays his whole circumference can fill;
In God's own word and sacred learning vers'd,
Deep in the study of the heart immers'd;
Who in sick souls can the disease decry,
And wisely fit restoratives apply.
To beatific pastures leads his sheep,
Watchful from hellish wolves his fold to keep;
Who seeks not a convenience, but a cure,
Would rather souls than his own gain ensure.
Instructive in his visits and converse,
Strives everywhere salvation to disperse;
Of a mild, humble, and obliging heart,
Who *with his all* will to the needy part;
Distrustful of himself, in God confides,
Daily himself among his flock divides.
Of virtue uniform, and cheerful air,
Fix'd meditation, and incessant prayer,
Affections mortified, well guided zeal,
Of saving truth the relish wont to feel;
Whose province, Heaven, all his endeavours shares,
Who mixes with no secular affairs,
Oft on his pastoral accounts reflects,
By holiness, not riches, gains respects;
Who is all that he would have others be,
From wilful sin, though not from frailty, free." *

This is a picture of the holy man in his daily walk. We can all, perhaps, from personal observation, identify to our own minds one or more such exemplary Parish Priest:—he has but one absorbing thought,—how he can best promote the welfare of his flock. You may see him at all times, in all weather, wending his silent way along the meadows, and bye-lanes, or up the hill side, or across the common, to visit some poor disconsolate bereaved one,—some sick or dying. As he knocks at the cottage door, the sense of his

* Ken's Poems, vol. ii. p. 231.

presence lights up the hearts of the inmates; for if, perchance, he be the bearer of nothing else, he pours in the balm of sympathy, and that is always a solace to mourners. Early and late he watches over his people, — encourages the fearful, quickens the loiterers, reproves the dissolute and profane, counsels the doubtful, reconciles all who differ, relieves the poor, gathers alms from the rich, — endeavours by exhortation, prayers, and sacraments, to raise all to the standard of the Christian law.

We are able to give one example at least of the permanent influence of Ken's pastoral life on that of his brethren. Next to his parish of Woodhay is Highclere, in Hampshire. Here a village priest, whose name has happily been preserved from oblivion by a filial pen, kept a school, in which he educated the sons of the eighth Earl of Pembroke, and of the neighbouring gentry. His humble course was like a hidden stream, fertilizing the banks along which it flows, and traced by the rich herbage and the flowers that spring beside it. He was most blest in being a blessing to others. — His rectory was worth a hundred pounds a-year; — "the country barren and the people poor."* There he tended his little flock for nine and thirty years.† He was not remarkable for the austerity of his life, or for any rare

* An Account of the Life and Conversation of the Reverend and worthy Mr. Isaac Milles, late Rector of Highcleer, in Hampshire, 8vo. 1721, p. 70. This was written by his son, Thomas, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. (Noble's continuation of Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 137.)

† Ibid. p. 82.

endowments of mind, though learned in the Hebrew and Greek languages. Of simple manners, and with a gentle and obliging temper that never lost him a friend, or made him an enemy, he was so indulgent to the faults of others, that he would often rise up and leave the company, rather than hear even a bad man reproached behind his back ; * so hospitable, that " he used to be much displeased if any poor person was sent from his house without tasting a cup of his ale." †

Even the way-worn " pedlars were always welcome to the parson of Highclere, and relieved of their packs, and lodged for the night in his barn, when he would himself sometimes take care that they had clean straw, and enough of it, and eat and drank as much as they pleased with his servants." ‡ " No beggar, or other person in want, came to his door for relief, who did not receive there an alms, either of money, or victuals, or clothes, and sometimes of all." Though he was often, from the guilelessness of his heart, deceived by bad men, " he valued it not," nor allowed himself to be weary in well doing.

" Trivial illustrations of his success in the art of infusing

* The same " charity towards men " is recorded of " the pious and profoundly-learned " Joseph Mede. Among other traits of " his most endearing sweetness and obliging affability in converse with others," he was noted for " his careful concealing or lessening of others' failings and imperfections: so far was he from the evil, but epidemical humour of making the worst of every thing, as some do, who are extreme in marking what is amiss, that sometimes by silence, sometimes by rebuke, and (when it was convenient) by withdrawing from the place and company, he declared he would have no share in the sin." *Life of Joseph Mede, B.D., folio, 1664, prefixed to his Works, p. xxxvii.*

† *Life and Conversation of Mr. Isaac Milles, pp. 121. 131.*

‡ *Ibid.*

some portion of his own charity into the younger and poorer portion of his flock, are to be found frequently occurring in the parish register of Highclere, in which there is a faithful record of all the collections for the relief of the Vaudois, the French Protestant refugees, the captives in Morocco, and for the building of churches. These collections not only amount to large sums for the place and time in which they were made, but they contain often the names of seventy or eighty persons in that small population, many of them school-boys, and many domestic servants of Mr. Milles and others."*

While thus bountiful to needy strangers, and feelingly alive to the sufferings of foreigners, he was the common father of his own parishioners, and especially "a constant visitant by the bed-side of the sick and dying," administering spiritual and temporal comfort to all. For their sakes "he turned a perfect beggar, in order to get from others something to supply their wants;" so that both parties might be enriched, the receiver here, the giver hereafter; and he always added what he could from his own little stock, but concealed his portion,† that he might appear the happy almoner of others. These are the rich fruit that a good man "bringeth forth out of the good treasure of his heart,"—Christian graces, works of love—the sweetest incense that can be offered up to Heaven.

* *Life of the Rev. Isaac Milles, &c.*, 1842, 12mo. pp. 69, 70. This abridgment of the original *Life* was written by the late Samuel Bosanquet, Esq.: it bears the stamp of a vigorous and cultivated mind, and of sound religious principles. A memorial window in the New District Church of East Woodhay testifies to the respect in which the author was held.

† *Life and Conversation of Mr. Isaac Milles*, p. 132.

Nor did these labours, and his conscientious care for his scholars, prevent his constant study of the Holy Scriptures (which he used to read in the original languages) or hinder his life of prayer: for besides his family devotions, "*he used to walk every day in the week to read the service in the parish church.*" Such was his humility, that "he was then his own clerk, tolling the bell himself, and doing everything else, before the few people that frequented those prayers were come together, which it was the business of the clerk to do."* It may be added, that he had so moving and pathetic a way of preaching, that "the people came from the neighbouring parishes round about," to listen to him. For this he would reprove them, and tell them to stay at home and go to their own churches;† but they could more easily obey any other of his commands than this.

Such was Mr. Isaac Milles, the simple-hearted Rector of Highclere. Though never raised to any higher preferment, he was in one particular blessed even beyond King David, who was not permitted to witness his son Solomon's high privilege of building the Holy Temple: whereas Milles, who had himself served his Heavenly Master in a humble station, lived to see his eldest son consecrated to the office of a Bishop.‡

* Life and Conversation of Mr. Isaac Milles, p. 137.

† Ibid. p. 79.

‡ His memory is still respected in the parish and neighbourhood; and his portrait, a rare engraving by Vertue, may be seen in Highclere Castle,—a building erected by the taste of the late Earl of Carnarvon, and the present Sir Charles Barry, into a noble mansion, worthy of the name of Herbert, on the site of an ancient manor-house of the Bishops of Winchester.

His second son died Dean of Exeter, at a mature old age; and his grandson, Richard Pococke, Bishop of Meath, a kinsman of the great Oriental scholar of the same name, is still remembered by his volumes of *Eastern Travel*.*

This account of the parson of Highclere might seem a digression, if it were not that he was mainly animated to so zealous a fulfilment of his duties by the well-known example of Ken in the same ministries of charity at the next village of Woodhay. Ken had preceded him but a few years; and we are told that Mr. Milles "admired him beyond all others in the Church of Christ; and so greatly esteemed of him, that he never spoke of him without being in raptures of veneration for him."† He had, moreover, the highest opinion of Ken's writings. "He considered his '*Practice of Divine Love*' to be a most divine exposition of the Church Catechism, and thought it was the best book that ever was committed to writing, next to the Holy Scriptures."‡ "He was so great an admirer of this commentary on our Catechism, whereby it is turned into a method and exercise of sublime devotion, that he taught his children, his scholars, and his servants, the practice of divine love by this writing of one, who had more of the spirit and life of it than most other men had. And he always obliged his scholars, every morning and every evening, and at noon day, to say on their knees the prayers of Bishop Ken, in his

* He brought from Lebanon a cone, from which sprung two of the many noble cedars, that now stand around Highclere Castle.

† *Life and Conversation of Mr. Isaac Milles*, p. 119.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 119.

Directions for Prayer, taken out of the *Church Catechism*, annexed to this Exposition." *

He had heard from George Hooper (who succeeded Ken at Woodhay) many particulars of the Bishop's character; and Mr. Milles used to say of Hooper himself, that "of all clergymen he ever knew, there was none, in whom all the three characters of the perfect gentleman, the thorough scholar, and the venerable skilful divine, met in so high and great a perfection as in him;" which verified the prediction of Dr. Busby respecting him.† And he said that "he was a public blessing to that country, and to the clergy thereabouts; and by his sweet and obliging deportment, not only gained the entire affections of all; but set an example by the imitation of which they might greatly have advanced the interest of our poor Church."‡

Ken's Prebend in the Cathedral, and his duties as Fellow of the College, were sufficient inducements to his return to Winchester: but when to these were added the society and guidance of such a man as Bishop Morley, we cannot wonder at his accepting the invitation to be more immediately about his person. This learned and self-denying prelate, who lived as if for others rather than for himself, was a bright example of loyalty in perilous times. In 1646

* Life and Conversation of Mr. Isaac Milles, p. 120.

† "The discriminating Dr. Busby observed of Hooper, when at Winchester,—'This boy is the least favoured in features of any in the school, but he will be the most extraordinary of any of them.'"

Cassan's Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells, p. 172.

‡ Life and Conversation of Mr. Isaac Milles, p. 93.

he had been selected by Charles I., together with Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderfon, and Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, to attend him as a council of advice in his conferences with the Parliamentary Commissioners for a peace in Church and State. In the following year he was one of the delegates appointed by the University of Oxford to draw up their Reasons for not submitting to the "League and Covenant," "Negative Oaths," and other Ordinances of the Parliament.

He had rendered himself further obnoxious to the Republicans by his constancy to his friend, the loyal and brave Lord Capel: he did not shrink from attendance upon him even to the scaffold. Capel had been taken prisoner by the rebels at the siege of Colchester, with Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle. When his two companions were condemned to be shot, he petitioned in vain that he also might receive a soldier's honourable death. He was reserved for a public trial, and condemned to be beheaded. His undaunted behaviour before his judges, and his reliance on God in the moment of death, were worthy of the noble cause of loyalty, and of the example of Charles: *he forgave and prayed for his enemies*. It is remarkable, that, like his master, he acknowledged the heaviest burthen on his conscience to be his having consented to the vote of the House of Lords for the death of Lord Strafford. This he expressed in private to Morley, and on the scaffold to the people. He confessed it to have been "a very great sin, and that he had done it out of a base fear (these were his own words) of a prevailing party," adding, that he had very often and very heartily repented of it. To the last

he declared his readiness to die for the King's service, and for that Church, in whose bosom he was born and bred, and which he thought to be the best in the world.* He desired his heart to be enclosed in a silver box, and at some future period to be laid in the tomb at the feet of his royal master. Morley was one of the few who accompanied Lord Capel to the last; he was fearless of all consequences to himself, that he might minister strength and consolation to his friend in the hour of need;—but the guard of soldiers would not suffer him to go upon the scaffold.†

Notwithstanding Morley's well-known attachment to the royal cause, when the republican visitors came to Oxford, he had an offer from a secret friend, "one of the Grandees of the House of Commons," to retain his Canonry in Christ Church, without being compelled to say, or subscribe to, anything against his conscience, if he would but give his word not to appear against them, or their proceedings. Izaak Walton was the bearer of this message; he was desired to write to Morley, and recommend him "to ride out of Oxford when the visitors came into it, and not return till they left it, and he should be sure then to return in safety; and that by so doing he should, without taking any oath, or other molestation, enjoy his Canon's place in the College." Morley replied, that he could not accept the intended kindness; "for

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 209, 210.

† Excellent Contemplations, &c., of Arthur, Lord Capel, with some Account of his Life. 12mo. 1683, p. 142. Two short letters written to Lady Capel from the Tower, express so ardent a love, and such a firm Christian faith, as might have touched the heart of any other men than the rebels of that day.

when Dr. Fell (then the Dean), Dr. Gardner, Dr. Paine, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Sanderfon, and all the rest of the College were turned out, except Dr. Wall, he should take it to be, if not a sin, yet a shame, to be left behind with him only."*

After the King's death, Morley retired to Holland to attend on Charles II., and was one of his most faithful adherents during his exile. For many years successively at Antwerp, the Hague, and Breda, "*he read the service of the Church twice every day, catechized once a week, and administered the Communion once a month to all the English who would come to it, without receiving or expecting any reward.*"†

The esteem and regard of such a Prelate conferred an honourable distinction on his Chaplain, which is now reflected back on Morley's name in the gentle rays of Ken's lustre. Their friendship was cemented by a common attachment to Izaak Walton (then in his 80th year), the humble guest of the Bishop, and the venerable friend of his Chaplain. The Palace at Winchester was not very long enlivened by the presence of the other Chaplain, George Hooper; "for Archbishop Sheldon dining one day at Chelfy with the Bishop, told him he had a request to make him, which was to give him something he valued, or to that

* Walton's *Life of Sanderfon*. Zouch's edit. vol. ii. p. 221.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 770. Mr. Bowles (*Life of Ken*, vol. i. p. 97) has imagined that Morley, during the Great Rebellion, took shelter for some time at Izaak Walton's cottage in Staffordshire. Sir Harris Nicolas (in his *Life of Isaac Walton*, prefixed to Pickering's edition of *Walton and Cotton's Complete Angler*, p. xxx.) observes, that "there is no evidence that Morley ever visited Walton in Staffordshire, or was indebted to him for any particular services."

effect. On the Bishop's telling his Grace that it should be at his service, the Archbishop then told him it was his Chaplain, Mr. Hooper, who he was very sorry to part with, but expressed great willingness to do it, as he thought it would be for the good of the Church, and an advantage to Mr. H., who accordingly removed to Lambeth House.* Bishop Morley ever retained a great regard for him, inasmuch that he sent for him to attend him on his death bed."† In this last office, as we shall afterwards see, he was assisted by Ken. They were thus united in ministering once more to their spiritual father, whose departure from this world, though it discharged them from the bond of a common duty towards him, did not dissolve their friendship.

The state of the Church of England in 1672, when Ken came to Winchester, presented fearful symptoms of a decay that increased as time went on. It was therefore a great benefit to him to have the counsel of such a Prelate, after whose example he might safely model his own ministry. Bishop Morley was incessant in all the duties of his public and private life, in prayer and fasting, in works of mercy to the poor, of munificence for the benefit and dignity of his successors;

* "Hooper lived in the Archbishop's family in great familiarity and greater trust: his Grace imparted many important secrets of those times to him, both about men and things; and with the other Archbishop of York (Dr. Dolbin) used always to call him *Father Hooper*, as being quite bald upon the top of his head, which made the two Archbishops order him, one day when they were both together, to get a peruke, which was then thought too effeminate for the clergy by the grave prelates then at the head of the Church."—MSS. Memoir of Dr. Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse. This passage will also be found in the Appendix to Trevor's Life and Times of William III.

† Ibid.

simple in his manners, zealous for the honour of God, self-denying amidst a frivolous and dissipated Court, energetic and constant in all difficulties.

In the same temper of mind Ken advanced to an equal station. His offices of Fellow of Winchester College, Prebendary of the Cathedral, and Chaplain to the Bishop, were not occupation enough for a mind intent on bringing men to Christ. He could not rest without some parochial charge; and having before served the neglected district of St. John in the Soke, he found it still without a pastor, and the hearts of the people turned from the Church by the contentious spirit of the Anabaptists. With the consent of his Bishop he undertook the laborious charge gratuitously. His disregard of money was a prominent feature in his character; the fulfilment of the pastoral office was the one simple desire that governed his actions,—“well done, good and faithful servant,” the one reward to which he looked. Hawkins says, “his most exemplary goodness and piety did eminently exert itself in the Society of Winchester; for that College being chiefly designed by its Founder for a retired and studious life, what could a great and generous spirit propose? but the good of souls, and the GLORY of that God, to whom he constantly ascribed it, even in his most familiar letters. And for this purpose he kept a constant course of preaching at St. John’s Church in the Soke, near Winton, where there was no preaching minister, and which he therefore called his Cure.”*

Thus he devoted his best energies to the poor of

* Hawkins’s Life of Ken, p. 4.

St. John's. The influence of his love, and zeal, and knowledge of the human heart, were heightened by the fervour of his eloquence. If by any powers of the Christian orator he might move men to holiness, he would fain employ them all in the great cause. He did not therefore undervalue this accomplishment; but followed the footsteps of the most pious and laborious Fathers and confessors of the primitive Church. Their impassioned oratory was not directed to a mere religious excitement, and a transient impulse, but to sever their people from the love of worldly things,—to call them out of the din of emulations and strifes to a blessed peace. Vehement, stern, persuasive, and loving, they alternately shook men “by the terror of the Lord,” and melted them by the mercies and hopes of the Gospel.

St. Chrysostom, whose eloquence was compared to a golden river, everywhere praises St. Paul for his skill in moving men's hearts to the fear and love of God. “Thus instructed,” he says, “and walking in the steps of his Master, Paul hath varied his discourse according to the need of his disciples, at one time using knife and cautery, at another applying mild remedies,” &c. And thus also Ken omitted no force of persuasion to awaken his hearers, and withdraw them from sin and schism. He reaped the rich reward of his labours in gathering many into the bosom of the Church.

Such were his unwearied patience and charity in his pastoral cares; the kindest of men towards others, himself mortified to all worldly pleasures, and afraid of nothing so much as a soft luxurious life, he was

disciplined to untiring exertions for the spread of divine truth. He seemed to realize Bishop Taylor's prayer: "Oh give me the spirit of mortification and humility, that I may be gentle to others and severe to myself." His biographer, Hawkins, describes that "in the evening, when he loved to enjoy the society of his friends, he was so worn down with the exertions and fatigue of the day, that with difficulty he kept his eyes open; and then seemed only to go to rest with no other purpose than the refreshing and enabling him with more vigour and cheerfulness to sing his Morning Hymn."—"And that neither his study might be the aggressor on his hours of instruction; or what he judged his duty, prevent his improvement; or both interrupt his closet addresses to his God, he strictly accustomed himself to but one sleep, which often obliged him to rise at one or two of the clock in the morning, and sometimes sooner; and this grew so habitual that it continued with him almost till his last illness."*

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 5. Archbishop Williams, Bishops Andrewes, Hammond, Morley, and many other divines of the seventeenth century, exercised the same habitual abstinence from sleep. "From his youth to his old age Archbishop Williams asked but three hours sleep in twenty-four to keep him in good plight of health. This we all knew who lived in his family. It would not quickly be believed, but that a cloud of witnesses will avouch it, that it was ordinary with him to begin his studies at six of the clock, and continue them till three in the morning, and be ready again by seven to walk in the circle of his indefatigable labours." Bishop Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*, part i. p. 7. "Dr. Hammond's temperance in sleep resembled that of his meals, midnight being the usual time of his going to rest, and four or five, and very rarely six, the hour of his rising." Fell's *Life of Hammond*, Dove's edition, p. 327. Of Bishop Bull we are told, that "frequently during the night,—for he was accustomed to retire late and rise early,—he was heard lifting up his soul to God in frequent prayer

The inhabitants of the Soke crowded to the church of St. John, to hear the words of truth that flowed from the lips of their humble Curate, as in a later period, when he became a Bishop, the courtiers of the palace thronged the chapel of St. James's to receive his more authoritative lessons. The word of God cannot return to Him void; His kingdom must in the end stretch forth on the right hand and on the left,—for that word and that kingdom have a spiritual life. Ken was the happy instrument of contributing to this great design of unity by the conversion of his sectarian hearers: “he brought many Anabaptists to the Church of England, and baptized them himself.”*

His Exposition of the Sacrament of Baptism, in the *Practice of Divine Love*, published many years afterwards, exhibits his view of its vital efficacy, and his earnest desire to bring men to a just sense of its blessedness. There is not, perhaps, in our language a more clear and emphatic testimony to the Catholic doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism,—from “a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness.” He says,—

“Glory be to Thee, O Jesu, Who by *Water*, that washes away the filth of the body, dost represent to my faith Thy *invisible grace in Baptism*, which spiritually washes and cleanses the soul.

“Glory be to Thee, O blessed Lord, Who in Baptism savest us, not by the outward washing, but by the inward

in behalf of himself and flock, or else giving utterance to his feelings by singing some of the psalms, as rendered in the old version, which (as did Bishop Beveridge) he greatly preferred to the new.” Teale's *Lives of English Divines*, p. 202.

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 4.

purifying Grace accompanied with a sincere vow, and stipulation of a good conscience towards God ; by which Thy propitious love brought me into Thy Church, the spiritual Ark, to save me from perishing in the Deluge of sin, which overwhelms the generality of the world ; and therefore all love, all glory be to Thee.

“Glory be to Thee, O Jesu, Who from our *death to sin*, in our Baptism dost raise us *to a new life*, and dost breathe into us the breath of love, *’Tis to this Laver of Regeneration, we are born again by water and the Spirit, by a new birth unto righteousness* ; that as the natural birth propagated sin, our spiritual birth should propagate grace, for which all love, all glory be to Thee.

“Glory be to Thee, O most indulgent Love, Who in our Baptism dost give us the holy spirit of love, to be the principle of new life, and of love in us, to infuse into our souls a supernatural, habitual Grace, and ability to obey and love Thee, for which all love, all glory be to Thee.

“Glory be to Thee, O compassionate Love, Who, when we were conceived *and born in sin*, of sinful parents, when we sprang from a root wholly corrupt, and were all *children of wrath*, hast in our Baptism *made us children* of Thy own heavenly Father by adoption and Grace : when we were heirs of Hell, hast made us heirs of Heaven, even joint heirs, with Thy own Self, of Thy own glory ; for which with all the powers of my soul I adore and love Thee.” *

* Practice of Divine Love, edit. 1686, pp. 135 and 136. The same sentiment is expressed in his poems :—

“Christians, who Christ’s anointed are,
In His celestial unction share ;
The Spirit, temple in their hearts,
His all-sufficient aid imparts.
O may I, with a faith unfeign’d,
Preserve my Christian name unstain’d :
To copy Christ O may I strive,
From whom I that dear name derive :
And die, when death shall me arrest,
A Christian, with Christ’s unction blest.”

In the course of these labours an incident occurred to raise his faintly character among the people of St. John's. A young child, who from some fever, apparently of teething, had lost the use of his limbs until the age of six, was restored to health within a week or ten days of his being baptized by Ken, and at the end of a month walked to Church. The particulars cannot be better told than by his own mother, in the words of the following document, preserved among the Baker manuscripts in the British Museum :—

“ The Copy of an Account given by Sarah Cante, how her son was wonderfully cured of Fitts, &c. by being baptiz'd by Dr. Kenn.

“ In answer to your desire, my Boy, of whome you inquire, was a lusty child born, and had his health very well, and all his teeth, and could go by the time he was a year old. Near to the same age he was taken with Fitts both inward and outward, w^h were so violent that he lost the use of his legs, and likewise they caused all his teeth to fall out of his Head by the roots. He crawled on his Breech five years, by the ill consequence of these fits, w^h made his skin as hard as a travelling (man's) foot.

“ The Friday before he was baptiz'd (the Sunday following) he had so violent a fitt, that the Spectators very much doubted of his recovery. The force of that fit turned out his two last teeth by the roots, so that he had then none left. About a week and odd days after he was baptiz'd, sitting at the Door in his chair, one of his Playmates, a little Girle, called him Tattie; the child (which never spake before) answer'd, my name is not Tattie, my name is Mathew, Dr. Kenn has baptiz'd me. About a fortnight after, sitting at the Door in a chair, he started up and went among his Play-fellows without being bid, and without leading; and that very day month following his Baptism, he went in my hand to the Church,

in which he was baptiz'd (which is near a quarter of a mile from my then dwelling), and answered several questions of the Church Catechism. Since his Baptism he hath continued well, both in speaking and going, and has 14 teeth. The breeding of the two first put him into a violent Feaver, by means of the hardness of his gums, but no sign of any fit, as a relick of the afore-mentioned; and is as fine a lad in my eyes as one in an hundred.

"This is an account from her who holds herself unworthy of so great a favour.

"SARAH CANTE." *

Baker adds in a note,—

"This I had from the Master, Dr. Jenkin, who was much with Bishop Kenn, in Lord Weymouth's family."

There is nothing in this story much beyond one of those great turns (the effect of medicine, or some other unaccountable effort of nature) which we are in the habit of calling "wonderful cures." The antiquary, Thomas Baker, who records it, Dr. Jenkin, who gave him the paper, and Ken, from whom this last received it,—all men of good sound sense,—*believed the fact, and told the truth.*

From a passage in Evelyn's Diary some years afterwards, it would seem that Ken thought it to be a miraculous cure. Many years afterwards, when he was a Bishop, he either chanced to be at Winchester, or went there on purpose to wait upon James II., who was on his way to Portsmouth to inspect the fortifications. Evelyn and Pepys went down in a coach and fix to pay their respects to the King. They arrived the second day (Sept. 16, 1685), "soon enough to waite

* Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, 7034, vol. 7, fol. 446.

on the King, who was lodg'd at the Dean's (Dr. Meggot)."

"I found," says the worthy chronicler, "very few with him besides my Lords Feverham, Arran, Newport, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells. His Ma^v was discoursing with the Bishops* concerning miracles, and what strange things the Saludadors† would do in Spaine, as by creeping into heated ovens without hurt, and that they had a black crosse in the rooffe of their mouthes, but yet were commonly notorious and profane wretches; upon which his Majesty further said, that he was so extreemly difficult of miracles, for feare of being impos'd upon, that if he should chance to see one himselfe, without some other witnesses, he should apprehend it a delusion of his senses. Then they spake of y^e boy who was pretended to have a wanting leg restor'd to him, so confidently asserted by Fr. de Sta. Clara and others. *To all which the Bishop added a greate miracle, happening in Winchester to his certaine knowledge, of a poor miserably sick and decrepit child (as I remember long kept unbaptiz'd) who immediately on his baptism recover'd; as also of y^e salutary effect of K. Charles, his Ma^v's father's blood, in healing one that was blind.‡ There was something said of the second sight happening to some persons, especially Scotch; upon which his Ma^v, and I think Lord Arran," (for nothing is more catching than a succession of tales of wonder) "told us that Mons. ———, a French nobleman, lately here in England, seeing the late Duke of Monmouth come into y^e play-house at London, suddenly cried out to somebody sitting in the same box, *Voilà, Monsieur, comme il entre sans tête*. Afterwards his Ma^v spoke of some reliques that had effected strange cures, particularly a piece of our Bl. Saviour's crosse," &c.*

* The other Bishop present was probably Mews of Winchester.

† For an account of these Spanish jugglers, see Evelyn's note to this passage of what Pepys told him about their pretended miracles.

‡ For a somewhat similar cure ascribed to Charles, during the treaty of Newport, see *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*, p. 392.

Many arguments might be raised on this story of the "poor miserably sick and decrepit child." It has subjected Ken to the charge of credulity, the justice of which may be reasonably questioned. Mr. Macaulay imputes to him, that his "intellect was darkened by many superstitions and prejudices," though he pays a high tribute to his moral character; which, he says, "impartially considered, sustains a comparison with any in ecclesiastical history, and seems to approach, as near as human frailty permits, to the ideal perfection of Christian virtue."* We are to remember, that the event here spoken of occurred above a century and a half ago, when the belief of miraculous interpositions degenerated even into absurd notions of the power of witchcraft. If Ken is to be judged by the standard of that age, he appears to have held the received opinions of miracles and visions in a lessened, rather than an exaggerated, degree, and will experience no diminution of our reverence from his belief in the undeniable recovery of the sick child. Of cures wrought by imagination, though wearing the appearance of miracles, and of which the records are both authentic and abundant, no one can entertain any reasonable doubt. The obscuration of such a credulity neither clouded the eloquence of Jeremy Taylor, nor the wit of South, nor the learning of Bull. Neither has it associated the name of Ken with those monstrous and revolting prodigies which gained credence from the gloomy fancies of his contemporary Baxter;—nor coupled him with those Puritan divines who carried

* Macaulay's History of England, 5th edition, vol. i. p. 632.

on dialogues with the devil, speaking from the bodies of those who were supposed to labour under demoniacal possession. It is not necessary for the vindication of Ken's healthiness of intellect to say, that the Baptists, even since the age in which he lived, resorted to the anointing of the sick with oil, and ascribed immediate efficacy to the practice.* We cannot doubt that he joined in the universal and irresistible conviction of all ages, that God's presence and mercy are testified in a thousand ways beyond the common course of His providential government. We know that the power of the Almighty is illustrated by influences of which He Himself is the only Author and exclusive Agent, and for which the finite reason of man cannot satisfactorily account. When these instances occur, the tendency of credulous minds is to ascribe them to the miraculous agency of some created being; but this does not invalidate the facts. The belief of God's interposition, by particular mercies, exalts the happiness of His creatures, by bringing them every moment in communion with Him, as the fountain of all blessings. His *miracles* of mercy, or of judgment, are not inconsistent with the *laws of nature*, because our feeble minds cannot reconcile them; and he is a bold man who will venture to draw the exact line

* For a few, among innumerable other, instances of the prevailing credulity of that age, see Massingberd's *Eng. Reform*, 2nd edit. pp. 221, 222. *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, p. 75. Samuel Clarke's *Lives of Sundry English Divines*, London, 1651, pp. 373, 387-8, 392, 397, 402, 458 to 461. Whiston's *Memoirs*, 1749, pp. 433 to 454. See also Walton's *Lives* (Zouch's edit. vol. i. p. 74) for an account of Dr. Donne's Vision; and Dr. Gardner's *Life of Bishop Browning* (1660, 12mo. p. 212), who testified to his belief of a miraculous interposition. Aytoun's *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*, pp. 330, 337. Coleridge's *Literary Remains*, vol. iv. p. 89.

between physical causes and special interpositions of divine agency, or to pronounce God's general government of the world to be irreconcilable with particular providences. Any parent who has had a beloved child snatched, as it were, from the arms of death, and restored to health against all reasonable hope, will not fear to bless God, Whose divine interposition has wrought a miracle of mercy. It was in full consistency with the habitual frame of Ken's mind to adopt the soothing thought, that in all our trials, as in all our blessings, the mysterious agencies from within the veil, the guardianship of angels, and the power of intercessory prayer, are amongst the rich promises of Revelation.



CHAPTER V.

Ken's Manual of Prayers for Winchester Scholars—His Morning, Evening, and Midnight Hymns—The Original Melody of the Hymns—The Court of Charles II. at Winchester.



E may well believe that Ken, having had experience of the temptations to which the Winchester boys were exposed, would now, as a Fellow of the College, consider how all future Scholars might best be preserved from the fascinating influence of the world, and trained to holiness. This desire prompted him in 1674 to compose a *Manual of Prayers* for their daily use. He could not offer a more lasting memorial of his attachment to those early scenes of his youth, or a more effectual pledge of his care for future Wykehamists. It is a message to them of earnest love: it warns them of the deceitful snares that surround their path, and allures them to virtue by every holy motive, and by the most eminent examples of early piety recorded in the Scriptures.

“Do but consider,” he says, “how welcome a young convert is to God: it was to young Samuel that God revealed Himself, and that at such a time, too, when the word of God was precious and very rare, to show how much God honoured a young prophet: and you know that St. John, the youngest of all the disciples, is the only person of all the

twelve, who was permitted to lean on our Saviour's bosom at the last supper, as dearest to Him in affection, and who is emphatically called the disciple whom Jesus loved: and this is suitable to that gracious promise, which God made to encourage all young persons to serve Him; *I love them that love Me; and they that seek me early shall find Me.*"*

This *Manual* is full of affectionate counsel, of encouragement and persuasion, and of prayers suited to the age and circumstances of the scholars of Winchester, and of all young people. The whole book is a type of his own mind. For the morning, and the noonday, for the evening, and the midnight, he gives them devout ejaculations and prayers, solemn counsel, encouragement and warning. At every turn,—“in their own chambers, in school, in hall, in Chapel, on their first waking, at going to bed, before and after reading Holy Scripture, between first and second Peal, when they go *Circum*,† in temptation, after sin committed, after any blessing or deliverance, at giving alms,—before, and in, and after Church,”—he expresses his earnest desire to make them heavenly-minded.

Above all, he gives them “*Directions for receiving the Holy Eucharist,—the blessed Sacrament, which is the most divine and solemn act of all our religion.*” In these we have an invaluable record of the true nature of the Holy Eucharist:

On the Outward Elements.

“I adore Thee, O blessed Jesus, my Lord and my God, when I consider what the Sacrament is, to which Thou now

* *Manual*, Ed. 1675, p. 2.

† *Ibid.* p. 4.

invest me, and of what parts it consists; of an outward and visible Sign, and of an inward and spiritual Grace! For Thou, Lord, who knowest our infirmities, and how little able we are to conceive things heavenly and spiritual, in pity to our dark and feeble apprehensions, hast ordained outward, and obvious, and visible Signs to represent to our minds Thy Grace, which is inward and invisible; Thou hast ordained Bread and Wine, which is our corporal food, to picture out to our faith the food of our souls.

“ On the Inward Parts or Thing signified.

“ I know, O my God, that I must look through the outward elements, and fix my faith on that which they signify, and which is the inward and invisible Grace, even Thy own blessed Body and Blood, which is verily and indeed taken, and received by the faithful in the Lord’s Supper. But tell me, O Thou whom my soul loveth, how canst Thou give us Thy flesh to eat? Lord, Thou hast told me that Thy words they are spirit, and they are life, and are therefore *not carnally to be understood*; Lord, I believe, help Thou my unbelief!*

“ I believe Thy Body and Blood to be as really present in the Holy Sacrament as Thy divine power can make it, though the manner of Thy mysterious presence I cannot comprehend.

“ Lord, I believe that the Bread that we break, and the Cup that we drink, are not bare Signs only, but the real communication of Thy Body and Thy Blood, and Pledges to assure me of it; and I verily believe, that if with due preparation I come to the Altar, as certainly as I receive the outward Signs, so certainly shall I receive the Thing signified, even Thy most blessed Body and Blood; to receive which inestimable blessings, O merciful Lord, do Thou fit and prepare me: Amen, Amen.†

* Manual, Ed. 1675, p. 42.

† Ibid. p. 43.

"A Thanksgiving after receiving.

"O how plentiful is Thy goodness, my Lord and my God, which Thou hast laid up for those that put their trust in Thy mercy! Was it not Love infinite enough, dearest Lord, to give Thyself for me on the Cross? Was not that sacrifice of Thyself sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world? What, Lord, couldst Thou, then, do more for me?

"All the mighty host of Heaven stood amazed to see the Blood of God shed, to see their King of glory, to Whom, from the first moment of their being, they had sung their Hallelujahs, nailed to a Cross; and all this to save sinners! Sure, Lord, none of all those blessed spirits, with all the glorious illuminations they had, could ever have imagined how Thou couldst give Thyself more to us than Thou hadst done. And yet for all this Thou hast wrought new miracles of Love for us, and as if it had not been Love enough to have given Thyself for us on the Cross, Thou hast found out a way to give Thyself to us in the Holy Sacrament, to unite Thyself to us with the most intimate union that it is possible to conceive, to become the very food, the life, the strength, the support of my soul, to become one with me, to become the very Soul of my soul.

"O Lord God, this is so unconceivable a blessing, this is so divine an Union, that the very angels, who so much desire to look into the great mystery of our Redemption, who learn Thy manifold wisdom from Thy Church, and frequent the places of Thy public worship,—do croud about our Altar, and with awful admiration contemplate the Holy Sacrament."*

* Manual, Ed. 1675, p. 52. It is rather remarkable, that George Whitfield considered these "Directions for receiving the Holy Sacrament" so valuable, that in preparing the "Communion Morning's Companion" for his followers, he adopted the greater portion of them word for word, and also many passages from Ken's "Practice of Divine Love;" in fact, the Meditations are wholly "*extracted from Bishop Ken.*" A Communion Morning's Companion, by George Whitfield,

All his biographers, except Dr. Markland, are inaccurate as to the date of this, his first publication. Hawkins says it was "composed and published about the time that Bishop Morley made him his domestic Chaplain, and presented him to the parsonage of Woodhay," which he intimates to have been in 1669. This is much too early; for it certainly was printed two years after his resignation of Woodhay, and his return to Winchester, when as Fellow of the College he would naturally take a deep interest in the welfare of the Scholars. Wood dates it as late as 1681: but we have now before us a copy published in 1675, a small 12mo, which was clearly the second edition.*

In the books of the Stationers' Company, Charles Brome, on the 3rd of May, 1680, entered a copy "entituled A Manual of Prayer for the use of the Schollars of Winchester School:" this we may presume was the third edition. The fourth appeared in 1681, and is that referred to by Wood. It is a small 12mo, being "for the use of the Scholars of Winchester Colledge, and all other devout Cbristians."

The next edition we meet with (also in 12mo.) is dated 1687: this was after he became a Bishop, and when his opinions were held by all to be a high

A.B., late of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Countess of Huntingdon, 9th edition, 1782.

* In Robert Clavel's "General Catalogue of Books printed since the dreadful Fire of London in 1666 to the end of Trinity Term, 1674," and at page 15, under the head of "Divinity in large Octavo, price of each 6d.," and quite at the end of the list, we have the following entry, "*A Manual of Prayers and Devotions for the use of the Scollars at Winchester School, and all young People: Printed for J. Martyn.*" This fixes the first publication in 1674.

authority in doctrine. It is said in the title-page to be "*Revised*:" this expression deserves particular notice, as, fortunately, the Manual did not escape censure in the lifetime of the Author. The Romanists had cited one passage, as if it gave countenance to their Trent doctrine of the Invocation of Saints. I say fortunately, because it called forth a valuable testimony of his faithfulness to the belief of the Anglican Church. He introduces this revised Edition of 1687, by the following

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"Whereas a late Popish Pamphlet has injuriously affirmed that, in a Manual of Prayers for the use of the Scholars of Winchester Colledge, I have taught the Scholars of Winchester to invoke the whole Court of Heaven, citing these words, page 93, 'Help me, then, O ye blessed Host of Heaven,' &c. I think myself obliged to declare that by that apostrophe, I did no more intend the Popish Invocation of Saints and Angels, than the holy Psalmist did, when he calls upon the Sun, Moon, and Stars; Fire, Hail, and Snow, &c., to praise God, Ps. 148; and to prevent all future misinterpretations, I have altered, not the sense, but the words of that paragraph, and I do solemnly profess that I believe the Invocation of Saints and Angels, as it is practised in the Church of Rome, to be '*a fond thing, vainly invented, grounded on no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God*,' as the xxii Article of the Church of England styles it, to whose judgment I humbly submit.

"THO. *Bath and Wells.*" *

The original and the revised passages, when

* This edition of 1687 appears to be the first published with his name.

collated, will show the subject of the “injurious” criticism, and its explanation :

Ed. 1681.

“ Help me, then, O blessed Host of Heaven to celebrate that unknown sorrow, that wonderful Love which you yourselves so much admire, help me to praise my crucified Saviour.”

1687 Revised.

“ O ye blessed Host of Heaven, who rejoice at the conversion of one single sinner, adore and praise my crucified Saviour, who dyed for the sins of the world ; adore and praise that unknown sorrow, that wonderful Love, which you yourselves must needs admire.”

Thus the Roman Catholic writers of the day gained nothing by their attempt to enlist Ken’s authority in support of their errors. He never relaxed his steadfast adherence to the doctrines which he solemnly professed on entering Holy Orders. No one could have a keener perception of the difference between supplicating the angels, and believing that they have received a holy charge to tend the flock of the “ Good Shepherd :”—“ O, my God,” he says, in his *Practice of Divine Love*, “ *I renounce, and detest, and bewail as odious and offensive to Thee, as directly opposite to Thy love and to Thy glory, all voluntary humility and worshipping of Angels.*”* Whilst he repudiated this as a fond thing, he knew that “ the services of angels have been ordained and constituted in a wonderful order,” and that the Church prays to God that “ they may by His appointment succour and defend us on earth.”† “ I believe, O gracious Redeemer, that Thy saints here on earth have communion with the holy Angels above ; that they are

* *Practice of Divine Love*, edit. 1686, p. 69.

† Collect for the Festival of St. Michael and all Angels.

ministering Spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation, and watch over us; and we give thanks to Thee for their protection, and emulate their incessant praises and ready obedience. For which all Love, all Glory be to Thee.”* This comforting and blessed doctrine is fully enunciated throughout his hymns and other poems. To give one example out of many:—in his “*Hymns for all the Festivals of the Year*,” that on St. Michael and all Angels† may suffice to show how habitually he realized their unseen presence, as a link in the chain of communion between God and man. He describes them as living in the beatific light of the heavenly spheres; their pure wills, and unchangeable love, their untiring zeal, expressed in hymns sung to their celestial lyres; their conquests over Satan and his fallen angels; their attendance on Abraham, Lot, Elijah, Daniel, &c., on Christ in the wilderness, in his agony, &c. :

“You kept the grave, where He reposed;
His glorious rising you discloſ'd;
You to the mountain went,
Attending His Ascent,
You shall the trump to Judgement sound,
And with obsequious wings the Judge surround.”

They ministered to St. Peter and St. Paul, and now are faithful guides to all devout worshippers. They join with our assemblies in prayer and hymns:

“You in God’s house *Trisagions* sing,
You veil your rays with awful wing,

* Practice of Divine Love, edit. 1686, p. 50.

† Ken’s Poems, vol. i. p. 384.

Our temples you frequent,
Devotion to foment,
God's boundless wisdom there to hear,
Mysterious truths to learn, and to revere."

He affirms that they are cognizant of all our ways, chide our neglect, animate our hearts to holy love, assist and strengthen us in temptation, glory in our conversion, and encircle the beds of saints. They befriend the Church of Christ, as ready watchers to counter-work the evil influence of the great Usurper and his legions, who conspire to delude, beguile, and pollute mankind. They always behold, and adore, and love, and hymn the Lamb; fly to execute His decrees on obdurate finners, to encourage the devotions of believers, and in all our necessities dispense their heavenly aid:

"To work our bliss, to guard from woe
You the expanse pass hourly to and fro.
You on the heirs of Heaven attend,
To comfort, counsel, warn, defend,
You in their infant-age
To tender them engage.
You quicken saints who grow remiss,
And you at death transport their souls to bliss."

We have an interesting testimony to the value of this Winchester Manual in a proposal, shortly after Ken's death, to publish an edition in Greek, which unfortunately was not carried into effect, although the translation was made. The writer of the following letter was probably a descendant of Dr. Buckeridge, Bishop of Ely:—

"REV. SIR,

"Godington, Feb. 21, 17th."

"SINCE I had the honor of your last letter, I have attempted and finished a translation of Bp. Ken's "Manual

of Prayers for the use of the Scholars of Winchester College" into Greek, which I have done with great care and diligence, intending, if I had any encouragement, to make it publick. I am not able (though it be a small thing) to be at the charge of doing it myself, and fancy that might be alleviated, if Mr. Vice-Chancellor would consent that it might be printed at the University Presse. Sir, if it be proper for you to intercede with him for such a favour, I humbly request you to do it. If it can't be done, I shall rest contented with my labour for my pains. I know that two things of the same nature have been received well in the world, and those are Bp. Andrewes's Prayers in Greek, and Dr. Whitaker's translation of his uncle, Dr. Nowell's, Catechism into Greek, though I am very well satisfied of the disproportion between their abilities and mine. Sir, I leave it to your judgement whether it deserves any thoughts from you concerning the publication of it. If it does, and it takes effect, I will add the Hymns, when revised and corrected, to it.

"I am, SIR, with all imaginable respect,

"Your dutiful, humble servant,

"WM. BUCKERIDGE.*

"To Dr. Turner,

President of C.C.C. Oxford."

As a crowning proof of his affection for Winchester scholars, Ken composed three Hymns for their Morning, Evening, and Midnight hours, little thinking that they would be handed down to the Church, and find a place in her services, and be treasured up, so long as the English language shall last, for the comfort, not of young Christians only, but of all devout persons.

It has been erroneously supposed, that the three Hymns were always printed with the early editions of

* Letters of John Aubrey, vol. i. p. 237.

the Manual of Prayers. But they do not appear in any of the five, already cited, nor in that of 1692. They are found for the first time in the 7th edition (1700), and are thus noticed in the title, "A Manual of Prayers, &c., to which is added Three Hymns, for *Morning, Evening, and Midnight*; not in the former Editions by the same Author."

Five years after this, a book was published, under the title of "A Conference between the Soul and Body, concerning the Present and Future State."* The work was "approved and recommended to the world by the learned Mr. Dodwell," but the management of the Conference was not worthy of the subject. In order to render the second edition more popular, the publisher added "Morning and Evening HYMNS, by the Right Reverend Dr. KEN, Bp. of Bath and Wells." Strange liberties were taken with the author's true version: many of the stanzas were new-modelled, and spoiled, some wholly omitted, and others (not in the original) were added. Accordingly in the next edition of the Manual, the Bishop's publisher produced the Hymns again with this "*Advertisement*:"—

"Whereas at the end of a book lately publish'd, called a Conference between the Soul and Body, there are some Hymns, said to be writ by Bishop KEN, who absolutely *disowns them, as being very false and incorrect*; but the genuine ones are to be had only of CHARLES BROME, Bookseller, whose just propriety the original copy is."†

* 8vo. 1705. Attributed to Mr. Henry Nicholson.

† This is repeated in the edition of 1712, 12mo; two years after Ken's death. I have not yet been able to find any edition between 1700 and 1712.

Thus it was the fate of the three Hymns, even in Ken's lifetime, to appear in a mutilated form; and they have continued ever since to suffer the same hard usage, being altered or curtailed in all sorts of ways, and in a greater or less degree, to suit every taste.* It may be, some of these alterations make the verses more smooth, but they all weaken the force of the originals, every line of which is full of deep meaning, and bears the impress of an exalted devotion.

Dr. Markland, whose *Life of the Bishop* is written in the warm spirit of love for his memory, and with no less judgment and candour, remarks that,—

“Ken's poetical reputation will rest upon his Hymns, which are become popular wherever Englishmen are known, and the Church of England extends her influence. There is an interesting fact in the precious volume which was bequeathed to us by Whytehead,—a missionary early called to his rest, but whose short life evinced many of the saint-like qualities of Ken. In a letter to a friend, written five days before his death, he says, ‘As I recovered from my asthma and lethargy, I took up the translation of the Evening Hymn (four verses for service) into Maori rhyming verse, the first of the kind, of the same metre and rhythm as the English. It is sung in Church and school by the natives, and several of them came and sung it under my window. They call it the

* It is seventy years since the 31st edition of the *Manual* was printed: at least fifty editions of the Hymns have now appeared, and not one is to be found that follows strictly the Bishop's own version. It will not, therefore, be uninteresting to see them in the Appendix (A), word for word as he penned them. They have also been translated into Greek verse, by the Rev. R. Greswell, 12mo. Oxford, 1831; and into Latin verse by Dr. Charles Wordsworth, present Bishop of St. Andrews; see his *College of “St. Mary Winton, 4to. 1848. Tres Hymni ad usum Scholarium Wiccamicorum.”*

"*new hymn of the sick minister.*" People seem pleased with it; and it is a comfort to think one has introduced Bishop Ken's beautiful hymn into the Maori's evening worship, and left them this legacy, when I could do no more for them. One thousand more copies were struck off to-day for the southern congregations.'"*

In his "Manual of Prayer," Ken exhorts the Winchester scholars to "*be sure to sing the Morning and Evening Hymn in their chamber devoutly*, remembering that the Psalmist, upon happy experience, assures you that it is a good thing to tell of the loving-kindness of the Lord early in the morning, and of His truth in the night season."† He means that they should *'say them in bed*, the first thing on waking, and the last on going to sleep; and if they woke in the night, and could not sleep, the Midnight Hymn would smooth their pillow. *If all parents would take care that their children learnt them by heart*, they would be richly rewarded in their after-life by the fruits of holiness, which an early piety seldom fails to produce. Nothing, for example, can be more likely to raise up their first affections to Heaven, when the sun breaks into their chamber, than to repeat to themselves the Morning Hymn, or impart a sweeter calm to the mind, on lying down to sleep, than that for the Evening. So, also, if they wake in the night, his Midnight Hymn (perhaps more beautiful than either of the others, though less

* Life of Bishop Ken, by J. H. Markland, D.C.L., F.R.S., 12mo. 1849, p. 105. Dr. Markland quotes from "College Life, Letters to an Undergraduate, by the Rev. T. Whytehead, M.A., Chaplain to the Bishop of New Zealand."

† Psalm xcii. 10.

generally known) shuts out all intruding thoughts, and teaches them, in his own words, to "join the angels to praise their God in hymns divine." *One dear friend there was of Ken's who tried this*,—he who was always called "the pious Mr. Nelson,"*—a man so exemplary in his life, so devotional in spirit, so charitable and munificent, so thoroughly conversant in the difficult questions in theology, so true to the Church of England, and untiring in all that could promote the glory of God through her instrumentality, that it would be difficult to find a name more honoured as an English layman, than that of Robert Nelson. He could as soon forget his "*lauds and vespers*," as the sun cease to set: often when he had beguiled the night "*with holy hymns*," he would "prevent the *prime*, and wake the rising morn." "This (says the writer†) I personally knew to be true: *be sung Bishop Ken's hymns*."

We find that at a later period Ken was designated "*seraphicus*," and sometimes, "*ille spiritualis*," DREX-

* ROBERT NELSON, author of "A Companion to the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England;" also, of "The Practice of True Devotion," &c.

† SAMUEL WESLEY, the father of the famous JOHN WESLEY. In his own copy of Nelson's "Practice of True Devotion," he wrote an elegy in praise of the author, which will be found in Teale's Life of Robert Nelson, 12mo. 1842, Appendix.

I am indebted for the mention of this circumstance to my friend, JOHN KENT, Esq.; and not for this only, but for innumerable other historical and literary notices, corrections, and suggestions throughout every part of this second edition of the Life of Ken, which I cannot sufficiently acknowledge. It has been to him a labour of love to throw in various touches and lights, which give animation to the portrait of the good Bishop. I might say much more, if any words could adequately convey my sense of the value and extent of his aid.

ELIUS,* *et seraphicus.*" This was in allusion not only to his devout character in general, and to his great power of eloquence, but, perhaps, especially to the seraphic spirit which pervades these and many other of his Hymns. Who could more fully appreciate this spirit than the eloquent and spiritual Alexander Knox, the thirty years' correspondent of Bishop Jebb? We may at a future opportunity record his high praise of the personal character of Ken, whom he places in the same rank of divines with Herbert and Taylor: at present we must be satisfied with his critical notice of the Hymns. He says,—

"A comparison of the Hymns of Doddridge, Watts, Ken, and Wesley, would show that Doddridge rises above Watts from having caught the spirit of Ken: and Wesley is deep and interior, from having added to the Chrysostomian piety of Ken the experimental part of St. Augustine. Watts is a pure Calvinist; Ken is as pure a Chrysostomian. Doddridge is induced to blend both, and the effect is valuable and interesting: Wesley advances this union."†

We have from Doddridge himself a pleasing reference to the character and hymns of Ken: he says, in his *Life of Colonel Gardiner*,—

"I cannot think it unworthy of a wife and good man sometimes to reflect with complacency on any images which, passing through his mind even in that state [of sleep], may tend either to express, or to quicken his love to the great Saviour. Those eminently pious divines of the Church of England, Bishop Bull, and Bishop Ken, do both intimate it as their

* The celebrated preacher of Augsburgh, died 1638. See Ballard MSS. Bodleian, vol. 41, *ad finem*. "A List of those who are marshall'd with glorious epithets annexed to their several names."

† Remains of Alexander Knox, 3rd edit. vol. iii. p. 226.

opinion, that it may be a part of the service of ministering angels to suggest devout dreams : and I know that the worthy person of whom I speak [Colonel Gardiner] was well acquainted with the Midnight Hymn of the latter of those excellent writers, which has these lines :—

‘ Lord, left the tempter me surprize,
Watch over thine own sacrifice !
All loose, all idle thoughts cast out,
And make my very dreams devout.’ ”

It has long been a question to what tunes these hymns were set and sung in the lifetime of Ken. The music in present use for the *Morning* Hymn is a corrupt version of the tune composed by Barthelomon (a violin player of the last century), being now encumbered with modern grace notes, inconsistent with the solemnity of devotional music.

The *Evening* Hymn was originally set to a melody composed by Tallis : this has been still more distorted from its ancient simplicity. Mr. Bowles thinks all the three, for the Morning, Evening, and Midnight, being of the same metre, were adapted by Ken himself to this tune. Hawkins intimates, that he was accustomed to sing them to his own tunes, for “ he had an excellent genius, and skill in music ; and whenever he had convenient opportunities for it, he performed some of his devotional part of praise with his own compositions, which were grave and solemn.” And we have seen how he “ seemed to go to rest with no other purpose than the refreshing and enabling him with more vigour and cheerfulness *to sing his Morning Hymn ;*” *this he used to do to his lute, before he put on his clothes.*” * Thus his genius for music, like all his

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 5.

other powers, was dedicated to God's glory. His whole life, in the midst of an evil world, was one continued act of prayer and praise. Our interest in the Hymns would be heightened by believing that he sung them to his own melodies, like George Herbert, whose "chiefest recreation was music, in which heavenly art he was a most excellent master, and did himself compose many divine hymns and anthems, *which he set and sung to his own lute or viol.*"* Bishop Sanderfon also was a lover of music, and was wont to play on his base viol, and also to sing to it.†

Mr. Bowles is correct in supposing Tallis to have been the original author of the melody to which the Evening Hymn was adapted; but he has fallen into an error as to the music itself. He mentions, as his authority, "a very old Collection of Psalms in the 16th century" (for 16th read 17th) meaning "*The whole Booke of Psalms, with the Hymns Evangelical*, by Thomas Ravenscroft, 1633," from the 260th page of which he gives a transcript of "An Hymn by Tho. Tallis for four Voices in A.‡ But the learned researches of Mr. Havergal§ have traced the origin to a source of greater interest, and of much earlier date. He says, "the Canon must have been composed by Tallis long before Ravenscroft was born: in fact, his is an altered and a shortened version of No. VIII. of Tallis's tunes for Archbishop Parker's metrical trans-

* Walton's Life of Herbert. Zouch's edition, vol. ii. p. 96.

† Aubrey's Letters, vol. ii. p. 523.

‡ Bowles's Life of Ken, vol. ii. p. 17.

§ The Rev. W. H. Havergal, Rector of St. Nicholas, Worcester, and Honorary Canon of Worcester Cathedral.

lation of the Psalms,* with many faulty consecutives. It was long ago suspected that Ravenscroft inserted it for the sake of garnishing his volume with Tallis's name."

Some have thought that the original melody might be still earlier than Tallis, and be found in the collection of Luther, or of Clement Marot. But Mr. Havergal, whose authority is not to be questioned, has no doubt of its being composed by Tallis. There is no resemblance to it in any of the tunes of Luther, published by Winterfeld; nor can it be recognized in the melodies of Guillaume Franc or Claude le Jeune. He possesses the only known copy extant of the hymn book of the Bohemian Brethren, printed at Ulm 1538, and the tune is not there, nor in any continental collection. He has favoured me with the following account of the successive corruptions from the original in the Archbishop's Psalter down to the present;

"First, Ravenscroft's faulty consecutives: these Francis Timprell has copied in his '*Collection of Psalm Tunes*' about 1723, again reprinted in the '*Harmonia Perfecta*,' 1730, where the tune is given as a 'Long metre single,' and is called a Canon, but without words: shortly afterwards, probably in 1732, Pearson printed it in his '*Harmonious Companion, or Psalm Singers' Magazine*,' where at page 235 may be found 'an Evening Hymn, a Canon; two in one:' this again is Ravenscroft's version of Tallis's music, and is adapted to the words of the 1st, 2nd, and 4th stanzas of

* "The whole Psalter translated into English metre, which containeth an hundred and fifty Psalms. Imprinted at London by John Daye." Without date. A correct version of the music will be found in Appendix B.

Ken's Evening Hymn, beginning 'All praise to Thee, my God, this night.'*

"But the great corrupter of Ravenscroft's inaccurate version was John Wesley! In 1742 he published a '*Collection of Tunes, as they are commonly sung at the Foundery*,'—a book now of such rarity, that Mr. Havergal considers his copy to be unique. The tune is not in parts, but a simple melody, taken mostly from the Tenor, and set to his well-known Hymn,

" 'Jesu, Thy Blood and Righteousness
My Beauty are, my glorious Dress.
Midst flaming Worlds in these array'd
With joy shall I lift up my Head.' &c.

"Not only the beginning, the middle and ending are altered, but the very structure of the tune is changed. From this time corrupted versions of the music became common, especially by Dissenting Editors: one of them, C. Ashford, in 1766, descended a step lower than Wesley: he was soon followed by sundry inconsiderable writers of Psalm-tune books, each in succession copying from his predecessors, and adding some additional corruption of his own, down to the end of the last century: since which time, in various collections, and under different names, the melody (if such it may now be called) has been perpetuated in its present mutilated shape."

The history of this tune is an illustration of the general decay of music in our Church services—ending in a wide departure from the primitive model. It may be hoped that a brighter period is coming, when Church music will be restored to its due solemnity, and Ken's Hymns be gravely and simply sung to the original melody. His musical skill must have been

* "It is not printed in any of Playford's volumes, nor in the *Psalm Singer's Companion*. Playford has only a Morning Hymn, set to other music, and beginning, 'Now that the day-star doth arise;' but no Evening Hymn."

eminently useful in the revival of the long-neglected anthems and choral services of Winchester Cathedral. Bishop Morley had already in part replaced what the fanatics had destroyed during the Rebellion. The windows and defaced ornaments were now repaired, the chancel again raised, and the altar table restored to its former place against the eastern screen.* We may believe that Ken contributed all in his power to this restoration: his generous disposition prompted his ready hand in furtherance of every good work, to the very verge, and beyond the limits, of his means, as we shall have frequent occasions to notice hereafter.

He continued to cultivate his taste for music both on the lute and the organ. There is a tradition in the Fenwicke family that, in his visits to Hallaton in Leicestershire, after he was Bishop, he used to sing his hymns to the accompaniment of the spinet.† For many years after his death his own organ remained in his room at Winchester, over the third chamber in the College.‡ It used to afford him a pleasing relaxation after the labours of the day. No doubt he would sometimes join in this innocent recreation among his friends in Winchester, as he used to sing his part at Anthony Wood's social music-meetings in Oxford.§

* Milner's History of Winchester, vol. i. p. 423.

† A small harpsichord.

‡ Bowles relates an anecdote in connection with this organ. About the year 1738, when "the third chamber" was occupied by Dr. Philip Barton, a Fellow of the College. Barton, coming in one day, found a Winchester boy amusing himself on the organ: "he set the culprit an imposition," little knowing that he was one day to be a distinguished poet, and head-master of the College. "The boy was Dr. Joseph Warton." Bowles's Life of Ken, vol. ii. p. 283.

§ So George Herbert, "though he was a lover of retiredness, yet his

For in the midst of his mortified life, strictly accustoming himself to but one sleep, and often rising at one or two o'clock in the morning, "*he was so lively and cheerful in his temper, that he would be very facetious and entertaining to his friends in the evening.*"*

In this, as in fearlessness of character, the great St. Basil, was a prototype of our own English Bishop. His heart, like that of Ken, was warm with the charities of life: though stern in rebuking vice, he was affable and familiar with his friends;

"Who made himself more amiable than he to the well-conducted? or more severe when men were in sin? whose very smile was many a time praise, whose silence a reproof, punishing the evil in a man's own conscience? If he was not full of talk, nor a jester, nor a holder forth, nor generally acceptable from being all things to all men, and showing good nature, what then? is not this his praise, not his blame, among sensible men? Yet, if we ask for this, who so pleasant as he in social intercourse. Who could tell a story with more wit? Who could jest so playfully? Who could give a hint more delicately, so as neither to be overstrong in his rebuke, nor remiss through his gentleness?"†

Ken indeed was remarkable for the grace of Christian urbanity. With all his reverential sense of the sacred-

love to music was such, that he went usually twice every week on certain appointed days, to the Cathedral Church in Salisbury; and at his return would say, 'That his time spent in prayer, and cathedral music, elevated his soul, and was his heaven upon earth.' But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would usually sing and play his part at an appointed private music-meeting; and, to justify this practice, he would often say, 'religion does not banish mirth, but only moderates and sets rules to it.'"—*Walton's Life of Herbert*, Zouch's edit. vol. ii. p. 96.

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*. p. 5.

† Church of the Fathers, p. 87.

ness of the priestly office, he could temper the gravity of his demeanour with a pleasantness of address that won the confidence of those he would fain bring "into captivity to the obedience of Christ." The revelation of the Gospel is from the God of Love, and they who preach its mysteries should exhibit in their lives its corresponding qualities. All the visible perfections of His creatures, all the tender sympathies implanted in the heart of man, speak of His attribute of Love. The very angels, notwithstanding their nearer view of His perfections, yet sympathize with the weaknesses of their "fellow-servants." Was not the love of our compassionate Saviour exemplified in His whole life on earth? He set that example which St. Peter recommends for our imitation: "be pitiful, be courteous." His ineffable dignity was tempered by so divine a condescension, His exalted presence by a graciousness so meek and gentle, that He exhibited the harmonious perfection of His two-fold Nature in their highest attributes of Majesty and Love.

The learned and charitable Dr. Hammond used to say, "he delighted to be loved, not revered; thinking that when there was much of the latter, there could not be enough of the former; somewhat of restraint and distance attending on the one, which was not well consistent with the perfect freedom requisite to the other."*

George Herbert also acted on the same principle. He says,—

"The Country Parson is generally sad, because he knows nothing but the cross of Christ; his mind being fixed on it

* Fell's Life of Hammond.

with those nails wherewith his Master was. Or, if he has any leisure to look off from thence, he meets continually with two most sad spectacles, sin and misery; God dishonoured every day, and man afflicted.—Nevertheless, he sometimes refresheth himself, as knowing that nature will not bear everlasting droopings, and that pleasantness of disposition is a great key to do good: not only because all men shun the company of perpetual severity; but also for that, when they are in company, instructions seasoned with pleasantness both enter sooner, and root deeper. Wherefore he condescends to human frailties, both in himself and others; and intermingles some mirth in his discourses occasionally, according to the pulse of the hearer.”*

In the same spirit, Ken considered himself a messenger of the Gospel of love; his experience of human nature taught him that men were to be allured, rather than driven from the transitory objects of this lower life, to sublime and spiritual affections. He did not think it unbecoming his holy office to draw their regard to himself personally, if by contemplating the features of a Christian character they might be led to place their higher love on God.

Being in attendance on Bishop Morley, these and his other qualities brought him to the notice of the King. Winchester, from its healthy situation, its extensive downs, and facilities for sporting, often attracted Charles II. to its neighbourhood. He made frequent progresses there with his Court, either when going to Portsmouth, or when he was engaged in hunting excursions in the New Forest. His brother, the Duke of York, afterwards James II., accom-

* Herbert's Country Parson, chapter 27: "The Parson in mirth."

panied him, which probably sometimes gave Ken the society of his friend, Francis Turner, the Duke's especial favourite and Chaplain.

But the presence of the Court, as we shall see, became an occasion of trial to the self-denying inmates of the Bishop's palace. Splendid pageants, luxurious feasts, the concourse of attendants, the busy carefulness and anxious waiting for the sunshine of royal favour, had no charms for Ken. His heart aspired to higher objects: the saving of precious souls, and the training them for the court of the King of kings, was the one absorbing idea that pervaded his ardent mind. The Court at this period was scarcely less profligate and luxurious than that of France. In his exile at Brussels, Paris, &c., even when his father was suffering the bitterness of persecution, and his death on the scaffold caused England to be an astonishment and a bye word to the nations, Charles II. had been given up to low sensual pursuits. After his Restoration also, by a dissolute life, he set the worst of examples to his people, and bequeathed to them a fearful legacy of profaneness and license, that spread like a contagion to after times. Many volumes of private histories and memoirs of his life, and correspondence of the time, exhibit debauchery, drunkenness, gaming, profuse oaths, and infidel wit, as the common and fashionable vices of the Court. The hardihood with which he blazoned forth his profligacy to the world may be understood by the fact, that of his numerous natural children, born of many mothers, he raised six to the title of Duke. He gave himself up to the pursuit of selfish and debasing pleasures, falsely so

called, that eat out as a canker the better affections of the heart. He seemed to want all sense of the solemn responsibility of a nation's welfare entrusted to him, and to forget that kings hold a divine commission which is to be exercised for the glory of God, and the good of their people.



CHAPTER VI.

Ken makes the Tour of Italy with Izaak Walton's son—At Rome in the year of Jubilee—Returns home—His attachment to the Church of England confirmed.



NEW and refreshing scene opens before us, as we turn from the fearful picture of Charles's Court to the personal history of Ken. Having given to the Winchester scholars a Manual of prayers to sustain their devotion, he prepared himself for a journey through Italy, at that time (towards the end of 1675) the wealthiest and most populous country in Europe. Fertile in the various productions of the earth, and abounding in the rare works of ancient and modern art, the nurse of music, of poetry, painting, and sculpture, and illustrious for men of science and literature, Italy formed the natural point of attraction for those whose taste impelled them to enlarge their experience beyond their own country. The houses of English noblemen, even in this our luxurious age, cannot vie with the stately palaces of Doria, Farnese, Medici, Pitti, Colonna, Aldobrandini, Pamfili, Barberini, Borgheze, and others. Their marble halls and galleries were decorated with unrivalled pictures and statues, frescoes, and museums of precious ornaments and jewels, many of which are now despoiled and scattered abroad.

The tour of Italy, not easy to accomplish in those days, was an object of general interest and desire, as it was supposed to give the last finish to a gentleman of birth and fortune. Moreover, the policy and doctrines of the Court and Church of Rome began, more than ever, to form a theme of warm discussion in England. The hopeless janglings, to which controversy always gives rise, were aggravated by the prejudices of various sects and parties. Every difference of opinion seemed to discharge men from the obligations of common justice towards each other. We have seen how the confusion and discord of the Rebellion had banished all the meek and lowly affections enjoined by the blessed Saviour on the Mount. They who adhered to the primitive doctrine and ceremonial of the Church had been branded with the name of Papists; whilst sectarian fanaticism, holding up religion as a cloak for persecution, gave loose to all the implacable passions of our nature.

With the Restoration the tide changed: but an intolerant spirit prevailed with those now replaced in power; the sectaries in their turn were oppressed, and forbidden the exercise of their worship. The Church recovered much of her temporal possessions, but not her spiritual rule. The bands of discipline were loosened; the pure services of religion, long in disuse, were negligently performed by the clergy, many of whom had been seceders, and being still only outward conformists, had little reverence for the liturgy. Added to this, the King secretly desired to restore the influence of the Church of Rome; an object constantly urged forward by the Duke of York. Charles was

restrained by motives of policy from implicitly following his advice; yet his own inclinations prompted him to all compliances within the verge of policy. To save appearances, he was often compelled to proclaim severe penalties against Romanists; but they were negligently enforced. There is little doubt that he had himself in heart conformed to Rome, though he durst not avow the change. He had long been a pensioner of Louis XIV., to whom he had bound himself by a secret treaty, for the restoration of Popery in England. Whenever his personal necessities were most urgent, he applied to Louis for fresh advances, under plea that the interests of the Roman Catholic Church required such aid. "After having passed a law," says Mr. Fox, "to make it penal to affirm (what was true) that the King was a Papist, he pretended (what was not true) to be a zealous and bigoted Papist."

The few letters from Coleman, the Jesuit, to M. La Chaise, which were overlooked when he committed the rest to the flames, may be selected from a mass of other evidence to show the hopes that were entertained of establishing the Roman authority:—

"We have here a mighty work (he says in 1675) on our hands; no less than the conversion of three kingdoms; and by that, perhaps, the subduing a pestilent heresy which has domineered over part of this northern world a long time. There was never such hopes of success, since the death of our Queen Mary, as now in our days, when God has given us a Prince who is become (I may say by a miracle) zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work. But the opposition we are sure to meet with is also like to be

great : so that it imports us to get all the aid and assistance, for the harvest is great, and the labourers are few.”*

Examples, however, were not wanting of Christian forbearance, which teaches men to hold their opinions with courage, yet with meekness, neither yielding on the one hand, nor reviling on the other. Of this number was Ken; and probably with a view to judge of the Papacy, in the very seat of its power, he resolved to visit Rome. That he might give his nephew, young Isaac Walton, the advantages of foreign travel, under his watchful guidance, he made him the companion of his journey. It appears that he was not unacquainted with the modern languages, for in his will he bequeathed all his “French, Italian, and Spanish books to the Library in Bath.”

Clement X. had proclaimed the Roman Jubilee, which was to be celebrated with great splendour. Papal briefs were distributed to the prelates throughout all the provinces of Europe, enjoining them to more than ordinary zeal in training their flocks for the approaching solemnity. Independent of this great festival, which drew hundreds of thousands of pilgrims and devotees from every corner of Christendom, other motives besides curiosity might reasonably prompt an earnest-minded and reverent man to make the tour of Italy. None could behold without a stirring of heart the Church of Milan, into which St. Ambrose refused to admit the Emperor Theodosius, stained with the blood of the Christians at Thessa-

* State Tracts, folio, 1693, vol. ii. p. 145.

lonica; nor the Chapel where St. Augustine, with his little Adeodatus, and his friend Alipius, received baptism, and from whence, in their procession to the great Church, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine were supposed to have first sung the Te Deum by responses. Above all, the city of Rome must ever present to us objects of great interest. Not to mention the Baths of Antoninus, the Circus and the Colosseum, the Arches of Titus and Severus, the ruined Temples in the Capitol, and other vestiges of Roman grandeur, she had in early Christian times been the depository (thus St. Irenæus called her) of the holy apostolical traditions and doctrines.

As the imperial city of Constantinople was the centre of Catholic communion in the east, so once was imperial Rome in the west, until her Bishops affecting an universal supremacy, she became the author of her own schism, by which she still divides the Christian world. Then, it may be, for her punishment, she was permitted to wander from the straight and narrow path of scriptural truth into the broad road of error; adding, at her own will, novel and strange doctrines, unknown to the Apostles as articles of faith: until, in this our day, as if to perpetuate her character of the Great Schismatic, she has invaded the rights of other and independent churches, setting up altar against altar, and pretended Bishops, who being *secundi*, are by the ancient rule of the Church mere *nulli*. Nevertheless, the city of Rome, once bedewed with the blood of St. Peter and St. Paul, is supposed to contain the remains of those holy apostles, and of St. Philip, St. James, St. Simon, St. Jude,

Polycarp, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom,* &c. She might still glory in the Basilica of St. John of the Lateran gate, said to be pre-eminent over all other churches "urbis et orbis;" and the tomb of St. Peter within the unrivalled church that bears his name, the successive work of Sangalla, Bramante, Baldassar, Michel Angelo, Della Porta, and Fontana.†

The two great routes to Italy at that time were either by Brussels and Cologne, through Augsburgh, Innspruck, Trent, and so by Treviso to Venice; or by Paris and the South of France. We have evidence as to which of these our travellers took. At that time the Low-countries were the seat of war, and, like an armed camp,—every city was fortified, and therefore unsafe for travellers. Besides, in the second part of the Complete Angler, in reference to "young Master Isaac Walton," Piscator says, "*he has been in France, and at Rome, and at Venice, and I can't tell where,*" which seems clearly to indicate the route they took. In default of a Diary like that of Evelyn, who had made the same journey 30 years before, we must be content to put the travellers on horseback, and leave them to their own reflections, until we give them the meeting at Rome. After Paris, their road lay through Avignon, Vaucluse, Marseilles, and so to the shores of the Mediterranean.

In all their journeyings they overtook crowds of

* The Voyage of Italy, by Richard Laffels, Gent., 12mo. 1670, vol. ii. p. 39.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 47.

pilgrims, hastening to the great Jubilee. Men and women of all classes and ranks, animated by a zeal worthy of a better object, left the peaceful round of their domestic life and duties, and pressed on from stage to stage towards the holy city. In every town and village, as they passed along, the churches were filled with the travellers, offering up prayers for a safe journey. The priests and other charitable persons (invoked by the Pope to lend their aid) dispensed food, and afforded shelter. It was winter: the festival was to begin on Christmas eve. Nothing could impede the zeal of earnest hearts, panting for reconciliation with God, which was to be purchased by gold and silver offered at the shrines of saints. In all their sufferings their patience was unbroken, unwearied. Many faint by the way,—some are gathered to their rest, and a lowly mound in the neighbouring churchyard is the only memorial of their hasty interment in a foreign land. The mournful survivors receive the blessing of the ministering priest, and with tears again pursue their journey, till the brow of the last hill is gained, and the great Basilica, the holy Zion of their intent longings, stands out before them! A cry of joy bursts from one to another;—all eyes are strained to catch a glimpse of the surmounting Cross. Whatever straits or dangers have encompassed them, hardships, losses, sufferings,—all are forgotten in this one joyous burst of acclamation, “*Roma la Santa.*” They descend into the Campagna—enter by the Flaminian way, and are at rest until the time appointed for the ceremonial of opening the gate of St. Peter’s, when they hope to receive a plenary indulgence, in return

for countless offerings to be poured into the treasury of the Church.

These Papal Jubilees were a part of the worldly-wise policy by which the see of Rome contrived to extend its influence in Europe. They led to the open sale of Indulgences, which were the proximate cause of the Reformation, when the scandal had become intolerable. The first Jubilee was appointed in the year 1300. Pope Boniface VIII. proclaimed a general and full Indulgence,—“*non solum plenam et largiorem, immo PLENISSIMAM OMNIUM SUORUM VENIAM PECCATORUM,*”*—to every one who, being confessed and penitent, should within the year (beginning on the Festival of the Nativity) go on pilgrimage to Rome for fifteen days, and during that time visit, at least once every day, the three churches of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John Lateran. This was to be repeated at the beginning of each century. The Papal letters were despatched by couriers through the several states of Europe, addressed to Princes, Bishops, and others, enjoining them to lend their aid to the pilgrims. Accordingly, a vast concourse of people, described as “a wonderful and incredible multitude,” prompted by religious fanaticism, flocked to Rome from the cities and provinces of Italy, France, Burgundy, Germany, and other parts of Europe,—clergy and laity, monks and nuns, barons, knights and ladies, persons of every condition and calling. The poor went on foot, the rich on horseback. Princes, and lords, and noble dames might be seen

* *Chronicon Fratris Francisci Pipini* ; *Muratori rerum Ital.* Scriptores, tom. ix. fol. 798.

in cavalcades of fifty. During the greatest part of the year there were reckoned no less than 200,000 strangers *in succession*. The author of the Chronicle of Parma declares that the travellers had every day the appearance of the march of an army along the Claudian way, within and without the city.*

This was well called the "golden year," because it gathered into the Pope's coffers a prodigious harvest from the offerings of the pilgrims; "*ex quorum oblationibus*," as Pipinus says, "*PAPA IPSE MAXIMAM CONGESSIT PECUNIAM*."† For they were not to have a gratuitous pardon: each day of the visitations at the three churches they made their contributions,—some little, some much. To stimulate their enthusiasm, "the holy handkerchief of Christ was exhibited in the church of St. Peter each Sunday, and on every day of solemn festival." We cannot, therefore, wonder that the Court of Rome should have thought the barren interval of a whole century too long for the repetition of such a beneficial Jubilee.

Pope Clement VI., "with the advice of his Cardinals, and of many other prelates and masters in theology," decreed, that "as in the records of Scripture every fiftieth year was appointed to the Jews for a Jubilee, and as human life was short," the general Indulgence should, in future, be repeated at every period of fifty years. Accordingly, the second Roman Jubilee was held in 1350, and the crowd of pilgrims was even multiplied. They suffered incredible hard-

* *Chronicon Parmense*; Francisci Pipini; Muratori rerum Ital^{ie} Scriptores, tom. ix. fol. 842.

† *Chronicon Fratris Francisci Pipini*, chap. lvi. p. 56.

ships on the journey : it was the year of a memorable frost, "ice, snow, and storms." Thousands died on the journey, and afterwards in Rome from disease and accidents. The inns and other houses of entertainment would not hold them ; men and women encamped all night in the fields, huddling together round large fires to keep themselves warm. It was calculated that there were in Rome at one time, on the day of the Nativity, from 1,000,000 to 1,200,000 ; and 800,000 on the Feast of the Ascension. The crowds were so excessive, that sometimes two, sometimes four, sometimes six or twelve, were found trampled to death.* Exorbitant charges were made by the Roman citizens for the commonest articles of food. The scenes of profligacy in such a mixed multitude were indescribable : † nevertheless, the pilgrims were all to obtain the Indulgence on the prescribed conditions,—the devout and the sensual, the humble and the proud, the meek and the violent, the truthful and the false-hearted. Indeed, what

* *Istorie di Matteo Villani* : Muratori, tom. 14.

† "It is too well known that by such pilgrimage-going, Lady Venus, and her son Cupid were rather worshipped wantonly in the flesh, than God the Father, and our Saviour Christ His Son, truly worshipped in the Spirit." Third Part of the Sermon against Peril of Idolatry. Homilies, edit. 1844, p. 205. "The greatest part of these travellers, (English women who had taken the veil) make a miserable voyage of it, and lose their honour in their pilgrimage, &c." Letter of Boniface to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in Collier's Ecclesiastical History, folio, vol. i. p. 129. See also Bishop Short's History of the Church of England, 5th edition, p. 23 ; Modern Universal History, vol. xxii. p. 411 ; the Colloquies of Erasmus (himself a Roman Catholic), "*De Fotis temerè susceptis*," and "*Peregrinatio Religionis ergo*," and Gibbon, chap. lxi., for confirmation of the sadly demoralizing effect of these pilgrimages.

possibility was there of any discrimination? It is an awful thought that any human system should arrogate to itself such spiritual powers for its own aggrandizement.

Pope Paul II., in whose pontificate all offices, bishoprics, and benefices were set up for public sale, having no chance of the advantages of a Jubilee, if he were to wait the sluggish cycle of fifty years, found no lack of good and cogent reasons for once more shortening the intervals, and decreed in 1471 that, for the future, there should be a general Indulgence every twenty-fifth year. True, Scripture was silent as to any such period of Jewish observance; but pilgrims would benefit by a more frequent opportunity of pardon, and Holy Mother Church by their benefactions. Paul II. did not live to enjoy the fruits of his Bull; but they were no less acceptable to his successor, Sixtus IV. His Jubilee of 1475 proving to be a failure in Rome, he appointed another in Bologna, which answered better. Various devices were at different times put in practice to stimulate the zeal and secure the offerings of the pilgrims. The period required for their residence at Rome was shortened; envoys were sent into the distant provinces to dispose of the "sacred merchandize." They who could not, or would not travel, might purchase their pardons at home, keeping Jubilee in certain churches appointed by the ordinaries, and the alms there given had the promise of equal efficacy with those offered at the tomb of the Apostles.*

* For an account of the Jubilee of Alexander VI., see Gordon's *Life of that Pope*, and his scarcely more infamous son, Cæsar Borgia :

Thus it was, that 1675 being one of the periods of twenty-five years, Ken was enabled to see the splendour of the Papal court, and its superstitious rites, in all their plenitude. At the time of his visit, the Indulgences had fallen in value through the wider spread of the reformed doctrines and the advance of civilization,—which is the most powerful adversary that Rome has to encounter,—so that the number of pilgrims was much diminished; nevertheless, the concourse was very great. In the previous Jubilee of 1650, Lassels saw 9000 pilgrims entertained in one day at the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, the Pope himself, and many of the Cardinals, being there to wash their feet, and serve them at table.*

These pilgrimages were found to be so richly productive to the Court and Church of Rome, that they were extended to several other places. Lassels gives a curious account of the immense wealth derived from the religious zeal of pilgrims, who went in crowds to LORETO. Being himself a Roman Catholic, he enters into minute particulars of the “Little Chamber of our Lady, in which the Angel announced to her the Mystery of the Incarnation.” *It was miraculously translated through the air to Loreto, from Palestine, “by the hands of angels, about the year 1294;”†*

“Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum:
Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest.”

“He secured his election to the Popedom by placing two mules, laden with gold, at the disposal of a faithful cardinal, to be bestowed as occasion might require.” Dean Waddington’s *Hist. of the Church*, chap. xxvii.

* The Voyage of Italy, by Richard Lassels, 12mo. 1670, vol. ii. p. 8.

† Ibid. p. 323.

not forgetting "*some little earthen dishes, which were brought hither with the house, and therefore tradition holds them to have been our Saviour's plate, and our Lady's vessels;*" also, "*a window, where it is imagined the Angel entered when he came ambassador to the Virgin Mary;*"* and "*the very chimney which was anciently in this chamber!!*"† But, above all, the "statue of cedar of our blessed Lady, with her Son in her arms. It is said to have been made by St. Luke, and was brought hither, together with the Chappel, or Holy House."‡ Laffels computes that between Easter and Whitsuntide there have flocked sometimes 500,000, sometimes 600,000 communicants, to make their prayers and offerings at this shrine. His minute description, therefore, of the "inestimable treasures," wonderful as it may be, is not incredible; and as for the "*cellar, it is absolutely the best I saw in Italy:*"

"The vessels are hugely great, and not to be removed from hence. They are all hooped with iron, and some of them are so contrived, that they can draw three several forts of wine out of one vessel, and by the same tap. The experience is pretty, *but the wine is better.* This cellar furnisheth with wine not only the Governor's house, the College of the *Penitentiaries*, the Convent of the *Capucins*, the *Seminarists*, and all those that belong to the Church in any way; but also all pilgrims, yea, even all Princes, Cardinals, Bishops, Ambassadors, and great men of known quality, as long as they stay here on devotion."§

"Having refreshed ourselves in the cellar, we went to the apothecary's shop, belonging to the Holy House also, and fur-

* The Voyage of Italy, by Richard Laffels, 12mo. 1670, vol. ii. p. 337.

† Ibid. p. 341.

‡ Ibid. p. 338.

§ Ibid. p. 348.

nifhing phyfick to fick pilgrims for nothing. There we faw thofe famous pots, which make even phyfick itfelf look fweetly, and draw all curious ftrangers to vifit them. For round about a great inner fhop ftand pots of a great fize, painted by Raphael Urbin's own hand, and therefore judged by vertuofi to be of great value."*

We are not informed whether Ken and his companion, after feeing the wonders of Rome, returned home by way of Loreto, and "refreshed themfelves," as Richard Laffels did, "at this beft cellar in Italy." It is probable they took horfe for Venice by the more direct road, which would bring them by Narni, Terni, Spoleto, Affifi, famous for the tomb of St. Francis, Tolentino, &c. "Venice the Rich" was at that time one of the moft powerful cities of Europe, though now, deprefsed and crumbling in decay, it ftands a vaft fepulchral monument of the inftability of human grandeur. We would fain linger with them amidft the palaces of the Venetian nobles, and the Church of St. Mark; and glide with them in their gondola beneath the Rialto and the Bridge of Sighs;—but it is time for Ken to be at home among his flock at Winchefter. No doubt he had been with them in thought and prayer through all his journeyings, and longed to return, that he might once more feed them in the green paftures, and fold them befide the ftill waters.

He little fupposed, that during his abfence he was himfelf the fubject of fufpicion at home, and looked upon as no faithful shepherd. But fo it was: "for

* The Voyage of Italy, by Richard Laffels, 12mo. 1670, vol. ii. p. 349.

he lost the favour of many of his former auditors, who supposed that by this journey he had been tinged with Popery." Wood declares that they were "altogether mistaken."* We scarcely require this assurance: it was not likely his faith, or his love for evangelical truth, would waver amidst the corruptions he had witnessed. If he ever felt an inclination towards the Church of Rome, the effect of his travels was to convince him of her declension from catholicity. "He was often heard to say, that he had great reason to give God thanks for his travels, since (if it were possible) he returned rather more confirmed of the purity of the Protestant religion than he was before."† A personal observation of the corruptions of Popery had produced the same effects on Robert Boyle. He says, in the memoirs of his own travels, that he "never found the Pope less valued than in Rome, nor his religion more fiercelier disputed against than in Italy: and he ceased to wonder that the Pope should forbid the sight of Rome to Protestants, since nothing could more confirm them in their religion."‡ With what feelings, for instance, must any man of sound sense look at the thousand and one fabled relics exhibited by the priests in the churches and elsewhere? as *la Santa Scala*, those stairs, up which they declare our blessed Saviour was led to Pilate's house, stained with His precious blood; His miraculous portrait, begun by St. Peter and finished by an angel; a piece of the sponge in which the Jews gave Him gall to drink;

* *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 989.

† *Hawkins's Life of Ken*, p. 6.

‡ *Birch's Life of Robert Boyle*.

the thorns of His crown; the head of the Samaritan woman; the arm of St. Anne; the shoulder of St. Christopher; the doubting finger of St. Thomas; one of the pieces of silver with which the potter's field was bought; the stone pillar on which the cock crew at St. Peter's denial; the crucifix that spoke to St. Bridget; with a world of such like,* kept in the sacristies!! In gazing on these, the sceptic is hardened in his unbelief, the irreverent provoked to smile, the credulous sink deeper into superstition, and the English churchman turns sorrowfully away, with increased thankfulness for the blessings of the Reformation.

It is rather remarkable that nearly two centuries after Ken was in Italy, Dr. Thomas Byrth enters in the journal of his visit to Rome the following testimony to Ken's immoveable attachment to the Church of England:

"The ardour with which I saw numbers kissing the toeless foot of Peter's statue [in St. Peter's Church] was quite affecting.

"I had written thus far, when my travelling companion put into my hands a *Manual of Prayer, composed by Bishop Ken*, for the use of the Winchester School. Prefixed to this little work, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, is a life of the conscientious, excellent prelate. The coincidence between my own observations and those of the deposed Non-juror, would be singular, if, as I believe, most true members of the Anglican Church did not contemplate the mummeries of Romanism with the same feelings. Ken travelled all over Italy in 1675, and used to

* In the *Voyage of Italy*, by Richard Lassels, and also in Evelyn's *Diary*, a long catalogue will be found.

say he thanked God for the opportunities of that journey; since it had confirmed him more than ever in the opinion he always had, of the purity of the Church of England, and the superstitious fopperies of Popery. And yet this is the man whom the Rome-mimickers at home claim as their own.”*

Dr. Markland† quotes an anecdote, told by Dr. Cheyne, which applies to a later period of Ken’s life, when he was a Bishop, but which would confirm this account of the lasting impresson he received from his visit to Italy: “King James complimenting Ken upon some passages in his writings for their nearness of opinion, he told the King what little reason he had to do so; that he had been once inclined to his religion, but that the New Testament, and his journey to Rome, had quite cured him.” “If this anecdote (continues Markland) be authentic, the King could have read Ken’s works to very little purpose; for there is not a passage in any one of them, which can bear the least construction of Romish tendencies.”

Ken, who looked upon the Church Catholic as the holiest thing on earth, and the Anglican as its purest branch, well knew that the theory of a supreme Pontiff, with unlimited power over all the Bishops of the world, had not the colour of a pretence for its support in any single passage of Scripture. This claim might captivate imaginative and weak minds; but, as the writings of St. Paul, the declarations of the early Fathers and General Councils, the disclaimers

† Moncrieff’s *Remains of Thomas Byrth, D.D., F.A.S., Rector of Wallasey*, 8vo, 1851, p. 212.

‡ Markland’s *Life of Ken*, p. 48. Spence’s *Anecdotes by Singer*, p. 329.

even of Popes, and the injunctions of Christ Himself, prove the contrary,—the English Church, in whose bosom he had been baptized, was a sure point of rest to his humble but manly spirit. His filial attachment sustained him in his obedience to her amidst all her confusion. It might be, that her pure worship, and services, and temples* were sadly neglected; her doctrines misunderstood, her most devoted clergy held in suspicion. But he knew that her heavenly Master, who had brought her forth from the ordeal of the Rebellion, could bear her up in all her need; that it was His own Church, for which He had endured the agony of the Cross. St. John and St. Peter, and all the glorious company of apostles, prophets, and martyrs, are never weary of praying for her peace;—to join in this would exemplify greater humbleness of mind, than to magnify her defects, and yearn after another communion.

The suspicion that he might be “tinged with Popery from this journey,” arose from his having always held the primitive doctrines of the Church. Moreover, he had been moderate in religious disputes;—this, to the end of his life, was one of the remarkable points in his character. His mild and considerate disposition would not allow him to join with the popular theology of that day, in which there was too much noisy and violent opposition to Popery. He

* Two years subsequent to this period Evelyn was on a visit at Euston, in Suffolk. Lord Arlington carried him round the neighbourhood to show him various sights; and Evelyn says, “most of the Houses of God in this country resemble rather stables, and thatched cottages, than temples in which to serve the Most High.” *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 113.

could not shut his eyes to the fact, that Rome had degraded the spiritual kingdom of Christ to a secular government, and converted it from an invisible presence not of this world, into a bold assumption of temporal authority, commanding all nations to bow down and worship the Images she had set up. But there is a wide difference between rejecting their superstitions, and holding Romanists themselves in abhorrence and scorn. Surely we all share in the common name of Christians, and love the same Lord, after whom we are called, and believe in the ever-adorable Trinity. If Ken could not partake in their worship, he prayed for them as his brethren; nay, more,— whilst he denounced their superstitions, he mourned over the languid devotion of his native land. If they idolatrously worshipped the blessed Virgin, and offered up prayers to apostles and angels,—the “Communion of Saints”* seemed in practice to be little more than a theory in the English Church; and the appointed fasts, and festivals which he thought to be “*happy days, set apart for the remembrance of God's love,*”† were neglected and depreciated. His own words are,—

“I believe, O Thou God of love, that all the saints on earth by profession ought to communicate one with the other

* Ken thus clearly defines his opinion of this Article of the Creed, —“The Communion of Saints:”—“I believe, most holy Jesus, that Thy saints here below have communion with Thy saints above, *they praying for us in heaven, we here on earth celebrating their memories.*” (Practice of Divine Love, p. 50). The same idea is expressed in one of his poems:—

“They pray for us, we give thanks for them.”

† Practice of Divine Love, edition 1768, p. 84.

in evangelical worship and the same Holy Sacraments, in the same divine and apostolic faith, in all offices of corporal and spiritual charity, in reciprocal delight in each other's salvation, and in tender sympathy as members of one and the same Body. O God of peace, restore in Thy good time this Catholic communion, that with one heart and one mouth we may all praise and love Thee."*

If the Roman Church exceeded in ceremonial, we had at that period well nigh given up the reverential solemnities of worship. If their churches were gorgeous with images, and multiplied altars, the rich and noble at home had suffered the walls, green with damp, and the mouldering roofs of God's houses, to fall to decay, side by side, and in profane contrast, with the lavish decorations of their own palatial mansions.

Thus it was that Ken's regard to every ordinance of the Church, his self-denying devotional life, and his deep sense of Christian mysteries, were taken at this time, by many of his flock, to be an indication of his leaning towards Rome. But he *lived down* these prejudices, zealously and consistently setting forth the harmonious doctrines of the Gospel, and giving example of a strict adherence to the Church in times when her danger was the greatest. He could not be moved from his principles by the uncharitable and erroneous charge of Romish tendencies, which he knew had been brought against faithful Anglican Divines from the date of the Reformation to his own time. Still less could he yield one step of approach to the Roman Ritual, which he distinctly states to be

* Practice of Divine Love, edition 1768, p. 49.

idolatrous worship; "*voluntary humility, and worshipping of angels,*" and *reliance on the creature*, he renounced as "odious and offensive to God," forbidden in Scripture, unknown to the Apostles, unheard of, and unthought of in the earliest ages after them. He thus gives expression to his jealousy for God's glory:

"O my God, O my Love, I know the true love of Thee is incommunicable to any but Thee; and therefore I renounce and detest, and bewail, as odious and offensive to Thee, as directly opposite to Thy Love and to Thy Glory,—

"All making of idols or false gods, or of GRAVEN IMAGES, with intent of WORSHIPPING AND BOWING DOWN before them.

"All idolatry and RELIGIOUS INVOCATION OF CREATURES." *

He rejoiced and gave thanks to God that he was born in the bosom of the Anglican Church, and, as we shall see remarkably exemplified throughout his whole life, *he was too faithful to waver for an instant in his allegiance to her*. He knew that her sacred life is beyond the reach of man's devices, for she has the rich promises of God, and her foundation is Christ, the Rock of Ages. If any one should doubt what were his settled convictions and resolves, let his own words speak for him:

"Glory be to Thee, O Lord my God, who hast made me a member of the particular Church of England, whose Faith and Government, and Worship, are Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic, and free from the extremes of irreverence and superstition, and which I firmly believe to be a sound part of Thy Church Universal, and which teaches me charity to those

* Ken's Practice of Divine Love, ed. 1686, p. 48.

who dissent from me ; and therefore all Love, all Glory be to Thee.

“ O my God, give me grace to continue stedfast in her bosom, to improve all those helps to true piety, all those means of grace, all those incentives of Thy love, Thou hast mercifully indulged me in her communion, that I may with primitive affection and fervour praise and love Thee.” *

He continued at Winchester three years after his return from Italy, pursuing his usual studious and mortified life, and unremitting in his labours to promote the spiritual advancement of all who lived within his sphere.

Towards the end of this period (the 20th of May, 1679) he lost his maternal uncle, John Chalkhill, who was a Fellow of Winchester College, at the time of his own election in 1666 ; † so that they were Co-Fellows together, uncle and nephew, for thirteen years. We have no memorials of the worthy man except his epitaph, which it is reasonable to suppose was penned by Ken himself. As he was buried in the south cloister, he probably died in his own chamber, attended by Izaak Walton, and by Ken, on whose character his exemplary life may have had no inconsiderable influence. The following is the epitaph :

“ Here is buried

John Chalkhill, Master of Arts, Fellow of this College forty-six years ; a man who all his life equalled the primitive Ascetics in solitude and retirement, in temperance and chastity,

* Ken's *Practice of Divine Love*, ed. 1686, p. 48.

† John Chalkhill was admitted Fellow of New College, Oxford, August 16th, 1618, and Fellow of Winchester, October 2nd, 1633. He was Vicar of Downton, county Wilts, which he exchanged for the Rectory of Ashley, county of Hants.

contemplation and holiness, devotion and charity: from his childhood he trod the way to Heaven, and at the age of eighty took possession of it, on the 20th day of May, 1679.”*

* The original in Latin is thus :

“H.S.E.

Joan. Chalkhill hujus Coll'ii. annos 46 Socius, vir, quoad vixit, solitudine et silentio, temperantiâ et Castitate, orationibus et Eleemosynis, contemplatione et sanctimoniâ Ascetis primitivis par: qui cùm a parvulo in regnum Cœlorum viam fecisset, Octogenarius tandèm rapuit, 20 die Maii, 1679.”

See History and Antiquities of Winchester, 12mo. 1773, p. 140. I have stated (page 3) that John Chalkhill, the poet, was Fellow of Winchester College; this is inaccurate. It is not impossible that the poet's Christian name was Ion. There were two cousins of the name of Chalkhill, one John the other Ion. Even the learned and laborious Antiquary, Sir Harris Nicolas, was undecided which of them was the poet. He considers that he may have been the Fellow of Winchester, whose epitaph I have just given, and that he was probably Mrs. Ken's father (see Life of Izaak Walton prefixed to Pickering's edition of The Complete Angler, p. xcvi.) ; this could not be, as he was born in 1601, and Martha Ken, his sister, in 1610. The College Register mentions only one Fellow of the name of Chalkhill.



CHAPTER VII.

Early life of William Prince of Orange—Delivers Holland from the power of Louis XIV.—His Marriage to the Princess Mary—Ken appointed Chaplain at the Hague—His faithfulness in the discharge of his office—He returns from the Hague—Appointed Chaplain to the King—His Funeral Sermon on Lady Margaret Maynard—The Court of Charles II. at Winchester—Ken refuses the use of his Prebendal house to Nell Gwyn.



WE have seen how Ken, after his travels, settled down to the even tenor of his duties at Winchester, free from the political and religious disputes which so violently agitated the public mind, and led to the national madness of the supposed Popish plot. But, in 1679, the quiet enjoyment of the society of Bishop Morley, Izaak Walton, and the Fellows of the College, was again for a time to be interrupted.* He was called to a sphere, less congenial to his tastes, because in the immediate circle of a Court, and in a foreign land. The duty assigned to him by the King was a residence at the Hague, as Chaplain and Almoner to his eldest daughter, the Princess Mary, whose principles might be thought to

* He had received the degree of Bachelor of Divinity on the 6th July, 1678; and that of Doctor in Divinity on the 30th of June, 1679. *Faeti Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 210-212.

be in danger from the Presbyterian influence of her husband, William III. of Orange.

The History of this Prince is so linked with English politics, and therein with the fortunes of Ken, that we cannot avoid some brief sketch of his early life. His mother, Princess Mary, daughter of Charles I., was married to William II. of the house of Orange in 1641. This union was brought about in an evil hour for the Stuarts, and in the end led to the extinction of their dynasty. Mary lost her husband in 1650, and a few days afterwards (the 4th of November) gave birth to a posthumous Prince; this was William III., the future Stadtholder of Holland, who was also destined, as King of England, to wear the crown of her ancestors.

William inherited the qualities of his brave and patriotic ancestors, and emulated their example. He was reflective, discriminating, unimpassioned, resolved,—of a modest taciturn demeanour,—habituated to hardships and fatigue, in spite of a sickly constitution,—daring in valour, and above all animated with an ardent love for his country. Bereaved of both parents at an early age, he had been educated under the more than maternal care of his grandmother, Amelia, Princess of Solmes, a woman of superior endowments. By her example and precepts he matured a force of mind that rendered him afterwards one of the most distinguished princes of Europe.

His great rival, Louis XIV., was born to be at once the glory and the scourge of France. The conquest of the free states of Holland was one of the favourite objects of his ambition. To “chastise the

insolence of those upstart Republicans who pretended to make laws for crowned heads," was thought to be a legitimate enterprise, simply because it tended to his own aggrandizement. He opened the campaign against the United Provinces in 1672, with an army of about 100,000 men, commanded by the Duke of Orleans, the Prince de Condé, and Marshal Turenne. His camp was attended by ambassadors, princes, nobles, and officers from all parts, as volunteers and witnesses of the triumph of "the invincible monarch." The States and Cities of Holland were divided into two political factions, the one headed by the De Witts, enthusiastic lovers of a Republic, the other favouring the Prince of Orange, whom the democrats had deprived of the office of Stadtholder, under a "Perpetual Edict" for the maintenance of liberty. In the midst of their contests they received intelligence that the enemy had effected, at Tolhuis, the brilliant passage of the Rhine, passing over sixteen squadrons of cavalry, *à la nage*, under the command of De Guiche;—a fearful augury of the fate of their country. It was one of the grandest spectacles in the history of war to see the whole French army drawn up in array on the opposite bank of the river, to witness the success of that hazardous exploit, thought by Condé himself to be impracticable. After this victory every where attended the French arms: all Europe awaited the approaching downfall of the Republic.

Louis having advanced from one conquest to another, and made himself master of Utrecht, the States were compelled to send deputies to implore his clemency. Nothing less than their entire submission

to his own terms would satisfy the haughty monarch. He even demanded that the Provinces should send him every year an extraordinary embassy, with a gold medal, as an acknowledgment of their vassalage.*

In this alarming crisis of their fortunes, the nation had recourse to the young Prince William, as their only hope. He had already given indications of his capacity for command, and was now appointed Captain General of the forces of Holland. One of his first measures, that he might obtain delay, was to open the sluices of the great dyke. It is scarcely possible to imagine the terrible effect of a general inundation of water in a flat country like Holland: only an eye-witness can realise it. But such was the last resource of a brave people, resolved to lose all but their freedom, and to drown their territories, rather than submit to a foreign yoke.

It might seem to all human calculations that the fate of Holland was sealed: her resources were exhausted; her army almost annihilated; her fortresses in the hands of a proud and victorious enemy, dreaded for the cruelties he every where inflicted, and confident from the signal triumphs he had already achieved. But William, inspired by a genius for war, gathered increased energy from all his difficulties. Never, perhaps, was a greater national deliverance wrought by the enterprise and sagacity of so young a warrior. The English minister, remonstrating with him against the risk he was incurring, said, "Do you not see that the country is lost?" His answer was, "I see it is in

* Trevor's *Life of William III.* vol. i. p. 49.

great danger ; but there is a sure way never to see it lost, and that is to die in the last ditch."

In this spirit he took the field with the remnant of an army, not one-fifth the number of the French, destitute of all the materials of war, dispirited by defeat, and chiefly composed of foreigners. But he seemed a host in himself : everywhere present, and undaunted, he infused his own courage into the hearts of others. He was calm and unmoved in the midst of danger, because he knew no fear,—keen and sagacious to discover each weak point, and prompt to remedy every defect and error. He displayed such an inflexible mind, such military skill, and so burning a zeal, that the whole nation at his command kindled into an enthusiasm, generally thought to be foreign to its character.

The Prince, but lately a youth of sickly frame, neglected, thwarted, excluded from his family honours, the indignant witness of his country's defeat, was now a hero in the eyes of all surrounding nations. He had entered the lists as the champion of liberty against the conqueror of Europe. Louis, surprised at the sudden effect of his great qualities, would have compromised with him, and offered to make him a Sovereign Prince over a part of the United Provinces, with the guaranteed protection of England and France. But he was above the influence of any such personal motive : he replied that "he would never betray the trust reposed in him, or sell the liberties of his country, which his ancestors had so long defended."

Profiting by the jealousy of other princes, who were alarmed at the ambitious projects of Louis, he formed

a closer alliance with the Elector of Brandenburg, already engaged on the side of Holland, and prevailed upon the Emperor of Germany and the King of Spain to join with him against the common enemy. He was himself the centre of union among the allies. He commanded their armies against the most renowned generals of France, and maintained his presence of mind under every difficulty ;—if he was frequently defeated, he soon retrieved his loss by new and amazing efforts. Foremost in every danger, and fertile in all the resources of a great commander, he extorted praise even from his enemies. “The young Prince,” said Condé, after the drawn battle of Senef, “has shown all the qualities of the most experienced generals, except that he exposed his own person too much.” At length the French were driven from all their acquisitions, and the gratitude of his country awarded to the conqueror and his successors the hereditary title of Stadtholder, which had hitherto been only elective.

In 1677 William came over to England, and gained the hand of the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, as his father, six and thirty years before, had received that of Princess Mary, daughter of Charles I. He thus cemented by a double bond the union of the two Houses, and brought himself nearer in approach to the succession of the English throne. This event diffused great joy throughout England, as likely to strengthen the Protestant interests in Europe, and to counteract the dangers apprehended from the known tendencies of Charles, and the avowed conversion of James, to the Church of Rome. But William was sensible that his continued presence

in England would not be acceptable at Court;—his very popularity was supposed to give encouragement to the disaffected; therefore, on the 29th of November, three weeks after his marriage, he prudently returned to Holland, with his young bride and their attendants. His near relative and favourite, Count Zulestein, and Mistress Jane Wroth, were of the number; the latter as maid of honour to the Princess. She was the daughter of Sir Henry Wroth, and of Anne, sister to Lord Maynard, the friend and early patron of Ken. There were also Sir Gabriel and Lady Silvius, friends of John Evelyn, who accompanied them to the ship when they embarked. Sir Gabriel was made “Hoffmaester”* to the Prince, a considerable employment in the household.

It was not likely, in the common course of events, that the royal wedding should have any influence on the humble fortunes of the meek Hymnist of Winchester: yet this proved to be the case, for within two years he was appointed Chaplain to Mary at the Hague. Hitherto he had been known only to his flock and neighbours by an untiring devotion to the duties of his cure; but circumstances soon occurred which called forth an energy and decision of character hitherto untried. The Chaplaincy brought him into close relation with three successive Kings—Charles, James, and William. Some passages in his sermon, preached at Whitehall, after he was Bishop, on the text, “*O Daniel, a man greatly beloved,*”† are marked by an unconscious

* Evelyn's Diary, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 437.

† A SERMON preached at Whitehall in the year 1685, Daniel x. 11. Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 57.

analogy to his own court-life. He there describes the Prophet, whose character he is holding up to view, as an ascetic and a saint, though living in the royal palace; never wilfully offending, yet bold and intrepid, exercising abstinence, prayer, and alms-deeds:—

“He was a courtier and favourite, and minister in three several monarchies; one that kept his station in the greatest revolutions, under all the disadvantages imaginable; enjoying the highest favour and honour, yet innocent and untainted, still keeping his virgin love for God, his greatly Beloved, retiring into his own chamber three times a day for solemn prayer, as into his oratory; and when his prayers were heard, ascribing all to God, and nothing to himself, and blessing the God of Heaven.”

The Princess had two Chaplains; the principal one was “Almoner and Chaplain to her own person, who properly represented the Church of England in Holland, and regulated all things relating to the Chapel and worship of God.”* To this office George Hooper had been previously appointed, perhaps on the recommendation of Archbishop Sancroft. No one could be better qualified for the trust; he remained a year and a half, and it was not without great reluctance that Mary parted with him. But he became very tired of his post, though he ever retained the highest respect for the Princess, and received many proofs of her personal regard, after her accession to the English throne. On coming away, he may have recommended his friend Ken as his successor;—or Sancroft might have been the channel of recommendation;—or pos-

* MS. Memoir of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse.

sibly Lord Maynard, who was Comptroller of the King's household.* Be this as it may, Ken could not refuse the appointment, as the King's wish was equal to a command: otherwise the incivilities that Hooper had experienced from the Prince of Orange would have deterred him from hazarding a like treatment.

William, though a hero in the field, was not an amiable master: his conduct to Hooper was unworthy of a Prince; and Ken fared but little better at his hands. It was fortunate for Dr. Hooper that he had an independent income; for—

“All the time he was in Holland he was never offered any money. The other Chaplain was a worthy man, but not so well provided with subsistence in England, and not doubting but he should have a handsome stipend for his attendance, he ran so far in debt that he was so unhappy as to die under confinement by a broken heart, never being able to get one shilling of the Prince. But the night before Dr. Hooper was to embark, when he left Holland, Mr. Bentinck, afterwards Lord Portland, sent a servant to him with a bag, in which the servant told him there was 70*l.*, and an excuse for its being sent no sooner. This was all Dr. Hooper had for a year and a half's attendance; a specimen of Dutch generosity, of which I could give more instances.”†

“The Doctor found that some books had been put into

* Or it might have been through the influence of Bishop Morley that both Hooper and Ken were successively appointed; for both were his own Chaplains, and Morley had been intimate with the Duchesse of York, mother of the Princess of Orange: Burnet says, “she had been bred to great strictness in religion, and practised secret confession. Morley told me he was her confessor. She began at twelve years old, and continued under his direction, till, upon her father's [Lord Clarendon's] disgrace, he was put from Court.” Burnet's *Hist. of His own Time*, edit. 1839, p. 115.

† MS. Memoir of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse.

the Princess's hands (who was a great reader) to incline her to a more favourable opinion of the Dissenters, than was consistent with that regard which a person so near the throne ought to have for the preservation of the Church of England : which made him take all opportunities to recommend her to such books as would give her the clearest notions of Church Communion and Government, and the great obligations to submit to them. The Prince coming one day into her apartment, happened to find Eusebius's Church History, and Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity lying before her Highness, and she reading in one of them, when he, with great commotion and eagerness, said, 'What, I suppose Dr. Hooper persuades you to read these books.' '*

We are able to give, from the same source which furnishes these anecdotes, one or two further characteristics of the Stadtholder, simply as bearing on the difficulties Ken afterwards met with, when he acted in the same capacity :—

"Dr. Hooper, when he came into Holland, found the Princess without any regular chapel for Divine Service, and the house so small as to afford no room to make one, except the dining room in which she dined, for the Prince and Princess never eat together, as the States and their officers often were admitted to his table ; but not fit guests for her's. This room she readily parted with for that use (and ever after, at least as long as Dr. H. staid there, dined in a small dark parlour), and ordered Dr. H. to see the room fitted up in a proper manner for her chapel ; and when it was near finished, her Highness bid Dr. H. attend on such a day, when the Prince intended to come and see what was done. Accordingly the Prince came, and as there was a step or two at the Communion Table, and another for the chair where the Princess was to sit, he kicked at them with his foot, asking

* MS. Memoir of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse.

what they were for, which being told in a proper manner, he answered with a *hum*. When the chapel was fit for use, the Prince never came to it, but on Sunday evenings, the Princess constantly attending twice a-day; and for fear she should ever make Dr. Hooper, or the congregation, wait beyond the appointed time, she ordered him, when it was so, to come to her apartment, and show himself only, as she would immediately come."*

The Prince learned afterwards to behave himself more reverently before the Lord's Table, when he possessed himself of the palace at Whitehall. It was some reproach to him that he should take umbrage at the Princess for studying the polity of her own Church; but it was still more intolerant to treat with disrespect and contempt the ceremonies and usages of the communion into which she was baptized. It is creditable to his judgment and to his candour, that afterwards, when he had better opportunities to inform himself of the real principles and ritual of the Church of England, he cordially adopted them.

"One day the Prince was talking with Dr. Hooper about the great distractions then in England at the time of the Popish Plot, and the great indulgence intended to be shown to the Dissenters. But the Doctor not expressing himself so favourable to those measures as he liked or expected, the Prince said to him, 'Well, Dr. Hooper, you will never be a bishop.' For although the Doctor acted with great prudence and decorum in the difficult station he was in, so as to give the Prince no just occasion of offence, yet he would never yield by undue compliance, where the Church of England, or any thing belonging to it, was concerned, which made the Prince once say to one that was in his confidence, if ever he had any

* MS. Memoir of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse.

thing to do with England, Dr. Hooper should be Dr. Hooper still." *

The Prince little thought that the chaplain would survive him many years, be consecrated a Bishop, and decline the offer made to him of an archbishopric.

The first notices we have of Ken in his new employment at the Hague, appear in the Diary of the Hon. Henry Sidney, the English envoy to the Court of the Stadtholder,—

"December 14, 1679. I was at Church, and heard Mr. Ken preach."

"December 25, 1679. There dined with me Mr. Ken and Mr. Bowyer." †

Ken's duty at the Hague "was to regulate the performance of Divine Service in the Princess's chapel, according to the usage of the Church of England." Hawkins says, "in this post, his most prudent behaviour, and strict piety, gained him entire credit and high esteem with the Princess, whom to his death he distinguished by the title of his Mistress." ‡ But he met with nothing in the disposition of the Prince kindred to his own. He himself was "lively and cheerful in his temper, disposed to be facetious and entertaining," § a character quite in harmony with that of an earnest Christian. William was of an unsympathizing nature, reserved, morose, bold in war and the chase, nurtured amid the turbulence and confusion of

* MS. Memoir of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowse.

† Diary of the Times of Charles II., by the Honourable Henry Sidney (afterwards Earl of Romney), edited, with notes, by R. W. Blencowe, Esq., M.A., 1843, vol. i. pp. 201 and 211.

‡ Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 7.

§ Ibid. p. 5

political strife, which makes men harsh and selfish. Moreover, Ken soon perceived that the young Princess was treated with undeserved coldness and neglect, so much so, that he and others attributed her declining health to this unkind usage. Dr. Lake records, that even before they had sailed for Holland, symptoms of William's phlegmatic temper had displayed themselves;—"the Court began to whisper the Prince's fullness or clownishness, that he took no notice of his Princess at the play and ball, nor came to see her at St. James's the day preceding that design'd for their departure."*

Dr. Covell, who succeeded Ken in the chaplaincy at the Hague, expresses, at a distance of five years, a worse opinion of William's conduct; for in a letter to Skelton he declares that "the Princess's heart is ready to break, and yet she every day, with Mrs. Jeffon and Madame Zulystein, counterfeits the greatest joy, and looks upon us as dogged as may be. We dare no more speak to her: the Prince hath infallibly made her a slave, and there's an end of it. None but **** (*perdutores*) and **** (*lenones*) must expect any tolerable usage here."†

Ken, with his usual faithfulness and intrepidity, determined to remonstrate with the Prince. Henry Sidney says in his Diary,—

"March 31, 1680. Dr. Ken was with me. I find he is

* Diary of Dr. Edward Lake, p. 9, printed in the Camden Miscellany, 4to. 1847.

† Rochester Correspondence, vol. i. p. 165, cited in a note by Mr. Blencowe, editor of the "Diary of the Times of Charles II.," vol. ii. p. 254.

horribly unsatisfied with the Prince, and thinks that he is not kind to his wife; he resolved to speak with him, though he kicks him out of doors."*

And again a few days afterwards,—

"April 11. Sir Gabriel Sylvius and Dr. Ken were with me, and both complain of the Prince, especially of his usage to his wife; they think she is sensible of it, which doth contribute to her illness; they are mightily for her going into England, but they think he will never give his consent."†

We are not told how he fared with the Prince in this delicate undertaking; but painful truths, brought home to the consciences of those accustomed to command, irritate rather than persuade. It may be inferred from the sequel that he proved an unwelcome monitor: for a circumstance soon after occurred in the Court of the Stadtholder, which brought upon Ken the full weight of his displeasure.

Count Zulestein, under a promise of marriage, had gained the heart and confidence of the beautiful Jane Wroth, maid of honour to the Princess: it is said that she had trusted him too far; but from a fear of offending William, or from some other cause, he hesitated to fulfil his pledge. Ken, however, was once more content to brave the frowns of the Prince, if he could restore peace to a wounded spirit. His sympathy was called forth on her behalf: she was a countrywoman; and could rank among her maternal ancestors the heroic Sir Philip Sidney, that "short-lived ornament of his noble family, and the Marcellus

* *Diary of the Times of Charles II.*, by the Honourable Henry Sidney, vol. ii. p. 19.

† *Ibid.* p. 19.

of the English nation." But she had a still stronger title to his protection; for, as I have already said, she was niece to Lord Maynard,—her mother being his Lordship's own sister: probably Ken had often seen them both at Little Easton. However this may be, he so strenuously urged her claims to the fullest reparation, that Zulestein yielded to a sense of honour and justice, and made all the restitution in his power by an honourable marriage.*

William was absent at Amsterdam† when this affair took place, and on his return to the Hague expressed the greatest indignation against Ken. Hawkins says, "he was so exasperated, that he very warmly threatened to turn him from his service."‡ The Chaplain was far from feeling any regret at the prospect of returning to England; he would perhaps rejoice at the thought, notwithstanding his respect for the Princess. We have seen William's disregard and even contempt for the reverential observances of the English Church; and his unfaithfulness to Mary could not have escaped Ken's observation. Instead, therefore, of deprecating his anger, he "repented his threats, and begging leave of the Princess, warn'd himself from the service." But he stood so high in the esteem of all men that the Prince was unwilling to incur the obloquy of dismissing him, especially for a generous and humane act which could not but be

* He was afterwards created Earl of Rochford, and the title descended to their eldest son. Collins's Peerage, vol. iv. p. 162.

† Henry Sidney's Diary, vol. ii. p. 162. "28th January, 1680. The Prince went to Amsterdam. Monsieur Zulestein was married."

‡ Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 7.

applauded in England. William looked forward to reap great advantages from the Duke of York's exclusion from the English throne, as a Popish recusant, for which a bill had already been introduced into the House of Commons. Being anxious to conciliate the favour of all parties, he determined to control his feelings; and therefore "entreated" Ken, who had retired from the Court, to return "to his former post and respect." The Chaplain was not difficult to appease; "he consented to continue for one year longer (during which time he was taken, at least, into a *show* of great familiarity), and when that year expired, he returned for England."*

It appears that about this time a proposal had been made to him by the learned Dr. Lloyd,† and after-

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 8. His whole conduct towards the Prince seems to have been untainted by any secular or factious motives; for on one occasion we find him voluntarily paying a visit to Henry Sidney, who stood high in the affection and confidence of William, and "telling him what enemies the Prince had in England;" this shows that he strictly fulfilled every duty towards him, no less than towards his mistress the Princess. Burnet did not pass by this occasion of depreciating Ken's character: he says, "he was sent back on some disgust the Prince took to him." But we see by the letters which immediately follow, that he was afterwards "*in as much favour with the Prince, and as obligingly treated by all, as he could desire*;" and that he was ready to do full justice to the zeal of the Prince for the Protestant religion, acknowledging "the great mercy of God in raising up, at this time, so powerful and resolute a patron of the Reformed Church." We shall find in every transaction of his life the same candid, yet uncompromising judgment of men and things. If his most intimate friends swerved from what he considered the path of rectitude, or erred from truth, he found no difficulty as to his own line of duty. He esteemed and judged men by their actions, reproving or applauding with equal boldness and impartiality.

† William Lloyd, shortly after made Bishop of St. Asaph, and successively translated to Worcester and Lichfield. He was one of the

wards by Dr. Compton, Bishop of London,* to endeavour to bring over some of the Dutch clergy to a conformity with the Anglican Church. Ken took a thorough survey of the results likely to flow from such an experiment, and expressed doubts of its success in the following judicious letter to Compton:—

“ Dieren, Aug. 19th, 1680.

“ My very Good Lord,

“ How it came to passe I know not, but I receiv’d not your Lordshippes letter, till about ten dayes since, when wee lay at Soesdyke, in o^r Passage to Dieren; & knowing M^r Sidney would meet us hēere, I referred my answer to be sent in his pacquett, wth I knew to be y^e most secure way. As to your Lordshippes proposall, it is in a manner y^e same y^t D^r Lloyd sent me not long before; & I looking on it as an effect of his owne private zeale, did freely tell him my thoughts, but not so fully as I could have done had I been to have discours’t with him. But to give your Lordshipp a more perfect account, though it is extreamely fitt to have y^e concurrent sentiments of their professours, yett I cannot apprehend y^e judgments of y^e generality of those Dutch divines, with whome I have convers’t, to be worth y^e asking, or very creditable to urge, should they give it for us, they for y^e most part rather despising then studying Ecclesiasticall antiquity; & y^e clafficall authours wth many of them read with most deference are o^r English Non-conformists; so y^t if y^e factious party should countermine us in this particular, I am perswaded y^t more of o^r Divines here would be for them whom they call their Brethren & esteeme as y^e great Doctours of y^e Reformed Church, then for us whom they censure for at least halfe

Seven Bishops sent to the Tower by James II.; but readily acquiesced in the oaths to William III.

* Henry Compton, a great promoter of the Revolution, and called “ The Protestant Bishop.”

papists. Besides I know some of them so well, y^t I dare say, should they give their hands for us, they would hardly thinke any preferment under a Deanery could reward their service. But y^t wth most swayes with me, & wth I most humbly offer to your Lordshippe, is this, y^t should I desire their approbation of o^r communion, I foresee y^t y^e next thing they will expect from us will be o^r subscription to y^e validity of their orders, and as a further confirmation demand y^t y^e Princeesse may come to their sacrament, wth hitherto she has never done, & if ever she does doe it, farewell all Comon-prayer here for the future. And I have reason to feare this, because y^e resentment they have at our reordaining them sticks in their stomach; & it has been urgd to me by them, & I have at present so far laid y^e controversy asleepe & satisfyd them, y^t I would be loath it should start up againe; for if it does, I I must either desert y^e Church or be so far deserted here y^t I must leave y^e place, and how far this is reasonable wth I say, Dr. Hooper, who undeservedly felt y^e effect of something like it, can best informe your Lordshippe. *I am at present in as much favour with y^e Prince, & am as obligingly treated by M^r. Benting & all here, as I can desire, & therefore if I am scrupulous *quieta movere*, I hope your Lordshippe will pardon me.* But if your Lordshippe thinke it absolutely necessary, I will entirely submitt to your judgment, & shall act as your Lordshippe directs me at my returne to y^e Hague, wth will be about y^e beginning of y^e next moneth, for at this distance I am able to doe nothing; but I request of your Lordshippe to send me your comānds in M^r. Sidney's pacquett.

“ My Honoured Good Lord,

“ Your Lordshippes most humble & most
obedient Servant,

“ THO. KEN.” *

While he thus carefully guarded the principles and

* Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian, c. 983. fol. 53.

steadfastness of the Princess, he was not less zealous in bringing others within the pale of the English Church, and was amply rewarded by an event which cheered the close of his duties at the Hague. It is probable there were several instances of conversion; but one,—of Colonel Fitzpatrick from the Church of Rome,—was deemed of sufficient importance to be communicated to Archbishop Sancroft, and also to the Bishop of London. Henry Sidney thus mentions the circumstance in his Diary:—

“August 23, 1680. I came to the Hague. Colonel Fitzpatrick dined with me: he told me of his design of being a Protestant.

“August 28, 1680. I told the Prince of Fitzpatrick; he is glad of it.

“August 31, 1680. There was a meeting between Colonel Fitzpatrick and Dr. Ken.”

In a letter of the same date from Henry Sidney to Sir Leoline Jenkins, he says:—

“Colonel Fitzpatrick having for these six months began to consider that he was not in the right religion, and having read many books, and used all the means to be instructed in the right, is at last convinced that the Protestant religion is the true religion; and this day in my chamber he made a declaration of it to Dr. Ken, the Princess of Orange’s Chaplain.”*

Ken communicated the event to Sancroft in this unpretending letter:—

“For His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

“My very Good Lord,

“I should not dare to make this invasion on Your Grace,

* Henry Sidney’s Diary, vol. ii. pp. 96, 97.

but that my duty enforces me, and the ambition I have to send newes, which I know will be extremely wellcome to your Grace, and the rather because it is of a convert to our Church, and of a convert, who is no lesse a persone than Collonell Fitz Patrick; who upon a deliberate enquiry is so fully satisfy'd with our Church, that he communicates with us next Lord's day in the Princess's Chapell. 'Tis not to be imagined how much both their Highnesses are pleased with the Colonel's happy resolution, and *the Prince commanded me to give my Lord of London a particular account of it, which I have done.* On Mooneday his Highness goes for Germany; the pretence is hunting; but the chiefe thing which he proposes to himself, wee understand, is to discourse the Germane Princes about the present posture of Europe, and to take accurate measures to expose the common enemy.

"I most earnestly begge your Grace's benediction.

"My Good Lord,

"Your Grace's most obedient and most humble servant,

"THO. KEN.*

"Hague, Sept. 13th, 1680."

The following is the letter he refers to, as addressed by himself to the Bishop of London:—

"My very good Lord,

"I need make no apology for this present addresse, in regard it brings the most acceptable newes of a convert to our Church, and that of no lesse a one then Collonell Fitz Patrick. I easily guesse that your Lordshippe will feele a very agreeable surprize at that name, and will not be a little curious to know what were the considerations which pre-

* *Prose Works of Bishop Ken*, by the Rev. James Thomas Round, B.D., 8vo, 1838, p. 38. A most interesting and valuable work, to which every biographer of Ken must acknowledge his very great obligations. It is earnestly to be wished that Mr. Round would be induced to publish another edition

vaild with a person of so great estate, interest, and understanding, to make this happy change; and I can with the more confidence give your Lordshippe an account of it, being as well assured my selfe, as any one can be of another's inward sentiments, that the whole conduct of this action has nothing in it but what was most worthy of a man of honour and of a good Christian. The first prejudice he entertaind against the Romanists was that peremptory sentence of damnation which they past on all them who dissented from their communion, and the Coll. had too much judgment and candour not to observe and owne that many Protestants did lead very holy and exemplary lives, and he could not believe that it was consistent with the infinite goodnesse of God to damne any persons of so unrepochaable and primitive a piety. The next thing that shockt the Coll. was the Tridentine doctrine of the Priestly intention; * and the ill consequence of that he did the more lively apprehend, by calling to mind, that when he himselfe was in Spaine, there was a Roman Priest who was convicted of having been allwayes a Jew, and had taken the Priesthood onely for a disguise; and what intention that Jew could have, when either he baptis'd, or absolv'd, or consecrated, he could not comprehend, unlesse it were to expose and invalidate all the meanes of our salvation. Another difficulty which the Coll. could by no meanes digest was the doctrine of Transubstantiation, to believe

* See the "Discourse of the Bishop of Minori about the intention of the Minister," in Brent's Translation of the History of the Council of Trent (ed. 1640), pp. 240, 242. Also Canon xi., in Sess. VII. of the Council of Trent: "*Si quis dixerit, in ministris, dum sacramenta, conficiunt et conferunt, non requiri intentionem saltem faciendi, quod facit Ecclesia,—anathema sit.*" Consult also Foye's Romish Rites, &c., 2nd ed., pp. 187, 191: and Allix's Historical Discourse concerning the necessity of the Minister's intention in administering the Sacraments, in Bishop Gibson's Preservative against Popery, ed. 1848-9, vol. viii. p. 168. Jeremy Taylor alludes to "the dangerous doctrine of the necessity of the Priest's intention in collating Sacraments, by which device they have put it into the power of the Priests to damn whom he please of his parish." Dissuasive from Popery, Part I. ch. i. § 11.

which he was to disbelieve all his five senses together. To this may be added some judicious reflections, which the Coll. himselfe made, in his reading history, on the frequent and notorious disorders in the Papacy, and in some of the Westerne Councils, which gave him but little hopes of finding Infallibility there.

“These are some of those just exceptions which first began to loosen the Coll. in the Romish Communion, and having about eight moneths since retir'd to the Hague, he had leasure to make a more accurate enquiry into this religion then formerly he had done. To this purpose he convers't with some divines of that Church, though but with little satisfaction; nay, so far was he from it, that for owning his doubts to his confessor he was deny'd absolution. Then he procur'd some choice authours, and study'd them, with more then ordinary application of mind. To reading he joynd frequent fasting, and prayr, and almes, as became an humble and earnest suppliant for the Divine guidance, which God has now graciously vouchsaf't him; insomuch, that being fully satisfy'd that the Church of England has a juster claime to all the advantages of having trueth than that of Rome, he intends next Lords day to receive the holy Sacrament in the Princesses Chappell, to the unspeakable joy of her royall Highnesse, who on all occasions gives demonstrations of her great and zealous concerne for the Protestant Religion.

“The conversion of so eminent a person wee here cannot but hope will open the eyes of severall of our gentry, who are of the Romish persuasion, to looke beyond the prejudices of their education, and not to suffer themselves to be scar'd from an impartiall search after Catholick Truth, which of all things in the world most highly imports them, and for which they must alwayes live martyres in resolution. Should any well meaning persons but follow so good an example, I question not but they would be blest with the like successe, and be enabled by God's gracious assistance to renounce all worldly considerations, which usually impose on our judg-

ments, and this I am verily perswaded the Coll. did, as all intelligent and unbyasst persons will confesse. For there are undeniable evidences here, and tis not unknown to your Lordshippe, of how great importance the Coll. has been ever esteemd, and how much courted in the Romish Communion, booth at home and abroad, of how plentiful estate he is master, and how much booth his estate and person are at this present out of danger; adde to this, the disgusts and losse of many of his old friends, from whome it is an affliction to good nature to dissent, the malice and censures, and jealousys of his enemies, all which sufficiently evince that he cannot propose to himselfe to sitt more safe, or more at ease, or to grow richer or greater, or in any the least temporall respect to better his condition by his change, and can have no motive to sway him but his irresistible conviction of conscience, [and] his passionate desires to take the best way to make sure of his title to heaven.

“I must now be so just to the Right Honourable Mr. Sidney, his Majesty’s envoye here, as to acquaint your Lordshippe that the Coll., during his sollicitious enquiry after the way of truth, did often ease his mind to him, from whome he receivd all that encouragement which so sincere and generous a friend, and so knowing and firme a Protestant could suggest.

“More then this, he tooke occasion to discover his thoughts to the Prince of Aurange, who offerd some weighty reasons of his owne to confirme him, and was infinitely affected with the Coll. good intentions; and when his Highnesse was afterwards pleasd to relate to me what passd betweene them, he spake of it with a very particular and visible satisfaction, and then commanded me to wait on him, who I found had so fully considerd and so judiciously argued all things with himselfe, that there was little need for me to interpose. I cannot omitt to lett your Lordshippe know, that in that short discourse his Highnesse made to me on this subject, he expressd so great a zeal for the Protestant Reli-

gion, that I could not but acknowledge the great mercy of God, in raising up, at this time, so powerfull and resolute a Patron of the reformed Church.

"I am sensible how much I have exceeded the bounds of a letter, but the occasion will justify me, and that duty which I am obliged to pay, who am,

"My Good Lord,

"Your Lordshippes most humble
and most obedient servant,

[THO. KEN.*]

"Hounslerdÿke, Sept. 13th, 1680."

A few days afterwards he writes again to the Bishop to communicate Colonel Fitzpatrick's actual conversion, and the expectation of other considerable converts:—

"My very Good Lord,

"In my last, I gave your Lordshippe an account of Collonel Fitz-Patrick's resolution to receive y^e Holy Eucharist in o^r Chappell; wth last Lord's Day he did, to y^e great satisfaction of the Court. The Prince & Princeffe, his Maiesty's Envoye, M^r Sidney, & Monfieur Bentin, & severall persons of quality, were at y^e Prayers & Sermon; & I question not but you will find y^e Coll. extreemely satisfi'd with his change, for I heare he goes for England with M^r Sidney within a few dayes. I cannot give your Lordshippe a greater demonstra-

* Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian, c. 982. fol. 175. This letter is among Bishop Compton's Papers, relating to the Diocese of London: it is not (as the others) an original, but a copy in a handwriting of the time,—very like Ken's, but not his autograph. I am indebted for the discovery of these letters to the kindness of Dr. Bandinel, to whom I would fain offer my sincere thanks for his assistance in all my searches among the treasures of the Bodleian MSS. It is pleasing to observe the general respect which is entertained for the character of the good Bishop. Dr. Bandinel, and also my learned friend, the Rev. Henry Octavius Coxe, Sub-Librarian, have contributed several very interesting contributions to this biographical sketch.

tion of y^e Coll's. sincerity, then to lett you know y^t *he has discourst with some of his Romish friends so effectually, y^t wee are in hopes of more converts to o^r Church, & those considerable ones too.* I am but just come to towne, & it being post-day am streitned in time, w^{ch} is y^e reason I cannot wait on him till to-morrow; & his Hignesse, who went yesterday for Germany, before hee lefft Hounslerdÿke, commanded me to pay a visitt to a Lieutenant Coll. who, wee hope, will suddenly embrace o^r cōmunion. I was at her Hignesses Chappell with y^e Collonell, but of this person I hope to send a more perfect account by M^r. Sidney.

“ My Good Lord,

“ Your Lordshippes most humble &
most obedient servant,

“ THO. KEN.*

“ Hague, Sept. 17, 1680.”

It would appear that the Bishop of London wrote to Ken, to tell him that Colonel Fitzpatrick ought to have abjured Popery at the time of his being received into the English communion, and in the following letter he explains the reason of the omission:—

“ My very Good Lord,

“ Since my last I waited on y^e Collonell, who on second thoughts told me, y^t what he first intimated to me, concerning y^e Jew in Spaine, who had there Romish orders, he could not peremptorily affirme; and y^t on regard he was then young, but 17 yeares old, & tooke but very little notice of it, & had at this distance but rude notions of it, & he was apprehensive enough y^t y^e Papists might probably pick a quarell with it. I told him y^t though y^t particular fact might not be true, yett such things had often happened, & were urged in y^e Councell of Trent, & the reason of y^e thing held notwith-

* Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian, c. 985. fol. 7.

standing. I confesse I was sorry y^t he did not advert [to] y^e rectifying this mistake before, when I read the letter over to him ; but if your Lordshippe has it still in your hands, I begge of your Lordshippe y^t my letter may be copied out without y^e passage. I am sensible, y^t when y^e Coll. was received into o^r Church, by a statute of Queen Elifab., he should have made an abjuration of Popery, but I having not y^e Statute booke here, & not being able any where in y^e Hague to procure it, thought it presumption in me to pen any forme of my owne, & I could not expect y^e returne of a post, because I did earnestly perswade y^e Coll. rather to owne o^r profession here, than to deferre it till his coming into England, for y^e sake of my master & mistresse here.

“ My Good Lord,

“ Your Lordshippes most humble &
obedient servant,

“ THO. KEN.

“ Sept^r. 20th. 1680.

“ I beseech your Lordshippe, y^t y^e paragraph in my letter may be thus altered, if you judge it fitt :

“ ‘ The next thing y^t shockt y^e Coll. was y^e Roman doctrine of y^e priests’ intention ; for what intention those priests, who have been convicted of being Jewes, or Atheists, or Magicians, could have when either they baptis’d.’

“ Mr Sidney goes for England on Sunday or Mooneday next, & y^e Coll. I believe will accompany him ; & I am extreamely glad of it, because I know he will receive great confirmation from your Lordshippe and my Lord’s Grace.

“ For y^e Right Reverend Father in God, Henerey,
Lord Bishoppe of London, at London House.” *

The time now arrived for Ken’s happy return to England. He did not, as Hawkins mentions, remain in Holland till the end of the year : it is certain that

* Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian, c. 985, fol. 8.

he was in London, at the house of his friend Francis Turner, in Amen Corner, Westminster, in October, 1680. No sooner did he arrive than the King rewarded his fidelity by appointing him one of his own Chaplains. Hawkins and Wood both say that "the King did not show any dislike to his behaviour in Holland." It was not probable he should do so; for "his most prudent behaviour, and strict piety, gained him entire credit, and high esteem with the Princess Mary," who probably recommended him to the King's favour. Lord Maynard's influence would also be exercised in favour of the protector of his niece, Jane Wroth, now Madame Zulestein.

If the Prince still cherished any resentment against Ken, it was not likely to lower him in the opinion of Charles, who had never shown any affection for his nephew. William was too near in succession to the crown, and too much in favour with the anti-court party, not to be an object of jealousy to the King and his brother. The Princess Mary was still nearer to the throne; and if the plan of excluding the Duke of York, as an avowed Papist, had succeeded, she would have been Regent after the death of Charles. This was provided for even by the "Expedients,"* which were proposed by the Court to the Parliament at Oxford in 1681, as a substitute for the Bill of Exclusion. Commissioners were to have been sent to Holland to receive the oaths of herself and William,—that they would take on them the trusts of the intended Act.

* "Heads of the Expedients propos'd, in lieu of the former Bill for excluding James Duke of York." Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1006.

The Commons, however, attempting still to press a bill of exclusion, the King suddenly dissolved Parliament; but the Prince had long been, and was still openly regarded as the main hope of the nation for preserving the Protestant religion. Apart, therefore, from all other influences, the fact of Ken's having incurred the Prince's displeasure, would rather advance than impede his promotion to the Chaplaincy.

Wood fixes the appointment in 1679,* Bowles in 1681,† and Hawkins in 1684, *after his return* from Tangier.‡ The Records of the Lord Chamberlain's office ought to give the very day of his appointment: but the books are defective at the precise time when it took place. It is certain, however, that he was not chaplain at any time between the 14th of January, 1677, and the 30th of July, 1680, during which the registers are perfect. The following letter, extant in the office, shows that he was appointed between the date of his last letter to Compton (the 20th of September) and the 21st of October, 1680. So that the time is ascertained within a few weeks. It is not improbable that this letter was the first official notice he received of the King's favour:§

* *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. ii. p. 989.

† *Life of Ken*, vol. ii. p. 63.

‡ *Hawkins's Life of Ken*, p. 7. Hawkins is clearly mistaken; for in the books of the Lord Chamberlain's office there is a memorandum of a letter, dated the 25th of January, 1683, written to Dr. Vincent (another of the Royal Chaplains) desiring him "to wayte in February next, for Dr. Kenn, he being at sea in his Majesty's service," showing that he was Chaplain *before* the expedition to Tangier.

§ It may be a question whether he could retain the Chaplaincy to Bishop Morley, having received the higher appointment of Chaplain to the King?

“ October 21st, 1680.

“ Sir,

“ There being five Sundays of this month of October, I have thought proper to appoint you to preach before his Majesty at Whitehall upon the last Sunday in this month; but understanding that it would be more convenient for you to preach upon Sunday next, I have prevailed with the Dean of Chichester, who is in wayting, to preach upon the last Sunday, and that you should preach before his Majesty upon Sunday next at Whitehall, and so perform that duty accordingly.

“ Thus I rest your loving friend,

“ ARLINGTON.

“ For Dr. Ken,
at Dr. Turner's, Amen Corner.”

There is no record of this, his first sermon before the Court; nor does his name appear in the lists of Lent preachers in the London Gazette for 1681 and 1682.* Probably, therefore, he only took his turn in the ordinary rotation of the chaplains in those years. As we find no notice of his being in London during the intervals, it may be presumed that he returned to his duties at Winchester.

In the summer of 1682 he was called to the death bed of his early friend, Lady Margaret Maynard, that he might minister to her the offices of the Church. We have already seen that his first appointment after ordination was the Rectory of Little Easton, and that he had “for near twenty years been admitted to Lady Margaret's most intimate thoughts.”

* In the list of 1683, he was appointed to preach before the King on Ash Wednesday; and again, in 1684, on Ash Wednesday, the 27th of February; but at this latter date he was absent at Tangier (as we shall hereafter see), and then Dr. Vincent preached for him.

To him she had made “confessions of her frequent severe examinations of her conscience;” and now in her last hour she received the Holy Communion at his hands. It was natural, therefore, that he should be invited to preach her funeral sermon; and it cannot but be interesting to hear something of Ken’s heart-felt and eloquent praise of this “gracious woman,” confirmed in holy affections by his own pastoral influence.

His text was Proverbs xi. 16,—“*A gracious Woman retaineth honour.*” Before he enters on her personal character, he offers a glowing tribute to female piety in general:—

“Women in all ages have given many heroic examples of sanctity; besides those recorded in the Old Testament, many of them are named with great honour in the New, for their assiduity and zeal in following our Saviour, and their charity in ministering to Him of their substance. They accompanied Him to Mount Calvary, lamented His sufferings, waited on the Cross, attended the sepulchre, prepared spices and ointments; and regardless either of the insolence of the rude soldiers, or of the malice of the Jews, with a love that cast out all fear, they came on the first day of the week, before the morning light, to embalm Him: and God was pleased to honour these holy women accordingly, for they first saw the angel, who told them the joyful news that He was risen; and as if an angel had not been a messenger honourable enough, Jesus Himself first appeared to the women,—the women first saw and adored Him; and it was these very gracious women whom our Lord sent to His disciples, that women might first be publishers of His resurrection, as angels had been of His nativity. Our Saviour Himself has erected an everlasting monument in the Gospel for the penitent woman that anointed Him; and God Incarnate honoured the sex to the highest degree imaginable in being born of a woman, in becoming

the Son of a Virgin Mother, whom all generations shall call Blessed; and I know not how to call it, but there is a meltingness of disposition, and affectionateness of devotion, an easy sensibility, an industrious alacrity, a languishing ardour in piety, peculiar to the sex, which renders them subjects more pliable to the divine grace than men commonly are; so that Solomon had reason to bestow the epithet *gracious* particularly on them, and to say that ‘a gracious woman retaineth honour.’”*

In drawing a contrast between personal beauty, and the effect of divine grace on the character of woman, we have this eloquent passage:—

“Beauty gratifies only our outward sense; it is a mixture of colour, and figure, and feature, and parts,—all in due proportion and symmetry; or, indeed, it is a well-shaped frame of dust and ashes, beloved by fond men only, who, like the most stupid of idolaters, worship the bare statue without regard to the deity there enshrined: but Grace† is a confluence of all attractions, which approves itself to our own most deliberate judgments, and is belov’d by God. Do but imagine you were in the Spouse’s Garden, where, when the south wind blows, the several spices and gums, the spikenard and the cinnamon, the frankincense and the myrrh, send forth their various smells, which meeting together, and mixing in the air, make a compounded odour;—such a composition of all virtues, such an universal and uniform agreeableness is there in a gracious soul, which in a manner, whether we will or no, engages our affections. Grace makes a woman a crown to her husband, the glory of the man, and advances her price above rubies; so that ‘a *gracious woman*’ is a jewel of value inestimable,—she

* “A Sermon preached at the Funeral of the Right Honourable the Lady Margaret Mainard, at Little Easton, in Essex, on the 30th of June, 1682, by Dr. Thomas Ken.”

† In another passage he says, “*Grace is the free gift of God, and our own free choice in a happy conjunction*; it is no other than a God-like loveliness impress on our spirit.”

has worth, and ornament, and lustre, and beauty, and honour, all combin'd together."

Applying this general character of "*a gracious woman*" to the immediate object of his affectionate eulogy, he proceeds:—

"Alas! we have nothing now left except this poor relique of clay, which in a few minutes must be restored to its native earth, and for ever hid from our eyes; the *gracious* soul that informed it, is flowed back again to God, from whom it first streamed, and His most blessed will be done, Who is compassionate and adorable in all His chastisements; yet as we are flesh and blood, we cannot but feel the stroke which even His Fatherly hand has given us. But why did I call her death a loss? it is rather our gain; we are all travelling the same way, as pilgrims towards our heavenly country; she has only got the start of us, and is gone before, and is happy first; and I am persuaded that we still enjoy her prayers for us above;—however, I am sure that we enjoy her good works here below, which now appear more illustrious, and without that veil her modesty and her humility cast over them: we still enjoy her example, which being now set in its true light, and at its proper distance, and delivered from that cloud of flesh which did obscure and lessen it, looks the more gracious and the more honourable; and if we follow the track she trod, we shall, ere long, enjoy her society in heaven.

"Let us, then, alter our note, and rather honour than bewail her: she was *a gracious woman*, and honour is her due; her good name, like a precious ointment poured forth, has perfumed the whole sphere in which she moved. To paint her fully to the life, I dare not undertake; she had a graciousness in all her conversation that cannot be expressed, and should I endeavour to do it, I must run over all the whole catalogue of Evangelical graces which do all concentrate in her character: I must tell you how inflamed she was with heavenly love, how well guided a zeal she had for God's glory, how parti-

cular a reverence she paid to all things and to all persons that were dedicated to His service, how God was always in her thoughts, how great a tenderness she had to offend her heavenly Father, how great a delight to please Him. But you must be content with some rude strokes only, for such particulars would be endless; all my fear is, that I shall speak too little, but I am sure I can hardly speak too much.

"I cannot tell what one help she neglected to secure her perseverance, and to heighten her graces, that she might 'shine more and more to a perfect day.' Her Oratory* was the place where she principally resided, and where she was most at home, and her chief employment was prayer and praise. Out of several authors, she for her own use transcrib'd many excellent forms, the very choice of which does argue a most experienc'd piety: she had devotions suited to all the primitive hours of prayer, as far as her bodily infirmities and necessary avocations would permit, and with David *prais'd*

* Several passages in the poem of "EDMUND," composed by Ken in the year following, representing the character of Queen Hilda, are so applicable to that of Lady Margaret, that he evidently had her in his mind when he wrote them:—

"God was her constant sovereign, dearest care;
Her closet fum'd with th' incense of her prayer
Three times a day she would for prayer retire,
Daily frequented twice the public choir;
Her library was with her Bible fill'd,
And with good books, which piety infill'd;
With sacred story, poetry divine,
Saints' Lives, the annals of the *Anglian* line;
These and the like she in solitude perus'd,
Which useful knowledge into her infus'd;
And oft spent piously diverting hours,
As Jesus midst the lilies, midst her flowers;
The Fasts and Feasts of holy Church she kept,
And oft in secret for the kingdom wept;
She each Lord's Day on the immortal Bread
With sacred hunger at the Altar fed.*

* Ken's Poems, 8vo, 1721, vol. ii. pp. 274, 275.

God seven times a day, or supplied the want of those solemn hours by a kind of perpetuity of ejaculations, which she had ready to answer all occasions, and to fill up all vacant intervals; and if she happened to wake in the night, of proper prayers even for midnight she was never unprovided. Thus did this gracious soul, having been enkindled by fire from Heaven in her baptism, live a continual sacrifice, and kept the fire always burning, always in ascension, always aspiring towards Heaven from whence it fell.

“ Her charity made her sympathize with all in misery; and besides her private alms, wherein her left hand was not conscious to her right, she was a common patroness to the poor and needy, and a common physician to her sick neighbours, and would often with her own hands dress their most loathsome sores,* and sometimes keep them in her family, and would give them both diet and lodging, till they were cured, and then clothe them, and send them home to give God thanks for their recovery; and if they died, her charity accompanied them sometimes to the grave, and she took care even of their burial. She would by no means endure that, by the care of plentifully providing for her children, the wants and necessities of any poor Christian should be overlooked; and desired it might be remembered, that alms, and the poor’s prayers, will bring a greater blessing to them than thousands a year.”

But we must bring these extracts, and the life of Lady Margaret to a close, that we may return to the history of the Preacher:—

-
- * “ And when she any naked wretches spy’d,
 Out of her wardrobe she their wants supply’d;
 Schools she built for her sex, and laws ordain’d,
 That they to work and virtue might be train’d;
 Large hospitals she built, and there would spend
 Choice hours, the sick with sweetness to attend;
 With tender heart she Jesus’ brethren fed,
 Could bear the stench of a poor man’s sick-bed.” *

* Ken’s Poems, 8vo, 1721, vol. ii. p. 274.

“ On Whit Sunday she received her *Viaticum*, the most holy Body and Blood of her Saviour ; and had received it again, had not her death surpriz’d us ! Yet in the strength of that immortal food she was enabled to go out her journey, and seem’d to have a new transfusion of Grace from it, inasmuch that above and beyond all seeming possibility she would use force to herself, and keep herself waking, to offer to God her customary sacrifice to the full,—to re-collect her thoughts, and to lodge them in Heaven, where her heart and her treasure was ;—as if she had already taken possession of her mansion there, or as if she was teaching her soul to act independently from the body, *and practising beforehand the state of separation into which, having received absolution, she in a short time happily launcht.* For all the bonds of union being untied, her soul was set at liberty, and on the wings of angels took a direct and vigorous flight to its native country, Heaven, from whence it first flew down. There we must leave her in the bosom of her heavenly Bridegroom, where how radiant her Crown is, how extatic her joy, how high exalted she is in degree of glory, it is impossible to be described : for ‘ *neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man to be conceived, the good things which God hath prepared for those that love Him,*’ of all which she is now partaker.” *

We may judge from this glowing description of the Christian character, how little he was himself influenced by the varying professions of the world ; how

* These extracts from the Funeral Sermon on his early friend and patroness will not be uninteresting to the reader. There are but two other Sermons of Ken’s extant ;—one on the Character of Daniel, and the other on the Triumph of the Church of Judah, on her Deliverance from the Babylonish Captivity. It is difficult to say which of them exhibits the most lively touches of eloquence : there are passages in all that have seldom been equalled,—perhaps never exceeded in the compositions of any English Divine. If Ken had prepared four volumes of Sermons for publication after his death, as he did of his Poems, they would have been a legacy to the Church of inestimable value.

innocent and consistent was his own life in the midst of the violent parties that now divided the nation. The history of the English Court at this period presents a confused scene of weakness and treachery, almost without a parallel. The King, yielding to the alternate influence of the Dukes of Portsmouth, of Monmouth, the Duke of York, and Louis XIV., began to be wearied by their various interests and persuasions. He had no confidence in himself, or those about him. Real or pretended Popish and Protestant plots, the intrigues of his Cabal ministry, and of parties favouring the hollow pretensions of the Duke of Monmouth, or pressing for the exclusion of the Duke of York,—some designing a republic, others a constitutional monarchy,—had for years kept the public mind in a perpetual ferment. Charles became more than ever averse to business. His chief care was to obtain the means of gratifying his luxurious and profligate tastes, which compelled him to live the obsequious pensioner of France. His time was divided between Windsor, Newmarket, and Winchester.

At the last of these places he now resolved to build a new palace. “Sir Christopher Wren was appointed the architect, who drew a plan and an elevation for the whole building, partly on the model of Versailles, in a style of royal magnificence. This being approved, he laid the foundation stone of the edifice, the 23rd March, 1683. The work was carried on with the greatest ardour; Charles himself, with the Duke of York, being frequently there for a considerable time together to inspect the building, from

whence they made excursions to Portsmouth, and hunting parties in the New Forest."* Evelyn says, "the destruction of the king's house at Newmarket by an accidental fire made him more earnest to render Winchester the seat of his autumnal field diversions, designing a palace there, where the ancient castle stood, infinitely indeed preferable to Newmarket for prospects, air, pleasure, and provisions. The surveyor has already begun the foundation of a palace, estimated to cost 35,000*l*, and his Majesty is purchasing ground about it to make a park, &c."

These royal visits to Winchester brought together a concourse of people of all classes, greater than the town could conveniently hold. "The Duchess of Portsmouth, his most favoured mistress, finished out of hand a house for herself." We may form some idea of her ordinary habits of extravagance from Evelyn's description of her apartments in the palace at Whitehall. He says:—

"I was casually shewed the Duchesse of Portsmouth's splendid apartments at White-hall, luxuriously furnished, and with ten times the richness and glory beyond the Queene's; such massy pieces of plate, whole tables, and stands of incredible value.†

And again:—

"Following his Majesty this morning (14 Oct. 1683) thro' the gallerie, I went with the few who attended him into the Duchesse of Portsmouth's *dressing-roome* within her bed-

* Milner's Hist. of Winchester, vol. i. p. 429. Lands were purchased for a park, and a magnificent street was to have been built from the Palace to the Cathedral.

† Diary. 8vo, vol. ii. p. 412.

chamber, where she was in her morning loose garment, her maids combing her, newly out of her bed, his Maj^{ty} and the gallants standing about her; but that which engag'd my curiosity was the rich and splendid furniture of this woman's apartment, now twice or thrice pull'd down and rebuilt, to satisfy her prodigal and expensive pleasures, whilst her Maj^{ty} does not exceede some gentlemen's ladies in furniture and accommodation. Then for japan cabinets, screenes, pendule clocks, greate vases of wrought plate, tables, stands, chimney furniture, sconces, branches, braseras, &c., all of massie silver, and out of number,—besides some of her Maj^{ty}'s best paintings."*

Nell Gwyn also was one of the Court circle, and to be provided for, though not so handsomely. Strange to say, this was the occasion of placing Ken in a difficulty. He had a good prebendal house in the Cathedral Close, opposite to the Deanery where the King used to lodge. When the "Harbinger," whose duty it was to provide lodgings in a royal progress, "came to Winton, he marked the Doctor's house, which he held in right of his prebend, for the use of Mrs. Gwin." But Ken's fearless heart at once prompted him to vindicate the holiness of his office. "He absolutely refused her admittance, declaring that a woman of ill repute ought not to be endured in the house of a clergyman, especially the King's Chaplain." This must have excited no small surprise among the courtiers; but as he was peremptory, "she was forced to seek other lodgings."† A small

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. pp. 186 and 235.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 9. Dr. Markland says, "his answer to the courtier who brought the message was worthy of himself,—'Not for his kingdom.'" Markland's Life of Ken, 2nd edit. 12mo, 1849, p. 57.

room was built for her at the south end of the Deanery. "It was ever afterwards known by the name of 'Nell Gwyn,' and has only been removed within the present century."*

He could not enter into worldly considerations of policy and prudence, which so often outweigh the clear dictates of conscience. His was no false or partial rule of conduct. How could he preach to his poor ones in the Soke of the sanctity of God's law, and receive a harlot into his own dwelling? The same simplicity of character and straight-forward zeal which had prompted him, in the palace at the Hague, to protect the honour of Jane Wroth, at the risk of offending the Prince of Orange, at once made him reject Nell Gwyn, though it should expose him to the King's resentment, which he could not but expect, as the natural consequence, for Hawkins says, his refusal "was publicly known." Humble as he was, he had, in his measure, the holy courage of the Baptist, which made him reprove adultery even in a palace. But Ken did not meet the Evangelist's reward; for Charles, so far from taking offence, appears to have admired the Christian boldness of his chaplain, and shortly after engaged him in a secret expedition to Tangier, in Africa, which about that time occupied much of his thoughts.

* Dr. Moberly's Biographical Memoir of Bishop Ken, 1840, p. vi.; and for a more particular account of the building, see Bowles's Life of Ken, vol. ii. pp. 56 to 58. It was built by the compliant, courtly Dean Meggot, and taken down by the learned and virtuous Dean Reynell, who probably thought it a scandal to the Deanery. Ibid. vol. ii. p. 85.

CHAPTER VIII.

Ken appointed Chaplain of the Fleet on the expedition to Tangier—Voyage—The vicious government of Tangier—Corrupt state of the Navy.



EIGHT years had now passed since Ken had studied the polity and religion of Italy, and scarcely three since his return from the less polished court of Holland, when he received a hasty summons to leave once more his friends and flock for a barbarous and distant spot. The town of Tangier, in the straits of Gibraltar, had long been a source of great outlay to the King. He had received this African fortress, and the island of Bombay, on his marriage with Catherine of Braganza, as part of her dower. Bombay, at that time esteemed of little importance, has since become one of the most flourishing colonies of Britain; while Tangier, which now barely helps to supply Gibraltar with provisions, was then reckoned of great value, as the key of the Mediterranean. The King had expended vast sums of money in constructing a mole for the defence of the harbour; he made it a free port, and conferred upon it extensive privileges: but the money, being lavishly applied, served rather to enrich the governors and engineers, than to promote the public service. The Parliament

refused to make any further grants,* not believing that they would be properly applied, and Charles was driven by his necessities to abandon this useless possession.

A writer of the time describes "the City and Port of Tanger," as—

"So advantageously situated, that it surveys the greatest thorough-fare of commerce in the world; having in one view almost the whole sea comprehended between the four Capes of Travalgar, Gibraltar, Spartel, and Ceuta,—those on the European, these on the African shore: so that no ship or vessel can pass in or out of the Mediterranean unobserved from thence. It comes, therefore, to pass, by means of this narrow Gap or Inlet, that men-of-war, pirates, and corsairs of all nations, covet to ply and cruize in and about that station, where they are sure to speak with all ships that pass." †

A postscript to this printed Tract, but "by another hand," declares Tangier to be "a pleasant city as any in the world, in a most wholesome air, pure and free from all infection, situate in a most rich and fruitful soil, able to yield all things needful to the life of man." ‡ But "all manner of debaucheries, profaneness, irreligion, and idolatry have the liberty to appear without a check: the Governors themselves have been the examples to encourage the contempt of virtue and piety." He speaks of "the ill usages of Popish officers, who valued more ten or twenty shillings at pay-

* They remonstrated against the appointment of Popish Governors, declaring that the officers and soldiers who had been sent out were for the most part Papists. Kennet's Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 376.

† "A Discourse touching Tanger," &c.; to which is added, "The Interest of Tanger," by another hand, 4to, 1680, p. 7.

‡ Ibid. p. 33.

day than the lives of their soldiers, and have not treated them like men, much less like Christians." He was even reproved for supplying the common men with food, because "some Irish officers expected to get their pay between their death and the following muster."—"I have sometimes buried three or four in a day,—dead for want of that which his Majesty hath provided for them in case of sickness."—"Many of them in melancholy drunken fits have run away from this 'sepulchre' to the Moors, where, to the scandal of our religion, they either turn renegades, or remain in perpetual slavery."* Lancelot Addison† (afterwards Dean of Lichfield) was chaplain at Tangier for seven years: he describes the military of the garrison as "reduced to a sort of breathing skeleton, whose belly was shrivel'd with hunger, hands nasty with idleness, and whose very heart was broken with ill success."‡ False muster-rolls were sent home, probably for the purpose of the commanders drawing the pay of a larger number of troops. Lord Teviot did all in his power to improve the condition of the place; but it was afterwards given up to the same disorder, profligacy, and extravagance as before. The King determined, in the summer of 1683, to send a naval force of twenty ships, under Lord Dartmouth, with secret orders to destroy the fortifications, left

* "A Discourse touching Tanger," &c.; to which is added, "The Interest of Tanger," by another hand, 4to, 1680, p. 22.

† Father to Joseph Addison.

‡ "The Moores Baffled: being a Discourse concerning Tanger, especially when it was under the Earl of Teviot, &c.; in a Letter from a Learned Person, long Resident at that place," &c., 4to, 1681, p. 5.

they should become formidable in the hands of the Moors.

Lord Dartmouth had always been high in favour with the King and Duke of York, out of respect both to the memory of his father, and his own loyal attachment to the throne. He was a rare example of fidelity and virtue in an age when public corruption so generally prevailed. His father was the brave Colonel Legge, one of the three devoted companions of Charles I., and aided in his escape from Hampton Court. It is difficult to account for his not having met the same fate that befell so many other loyalists, as he was several times imprisoned by the rebels. On one occasion at Coventry he was saved by the ingenious device of his wife, and passed through the guards without challenge in female disguise. The King, a short time before his execution, bequeathed this faithful friend as a legacy to the Prince of Wales, "charging him to take care of honest Will Legge, for he was the faithfullest servant that ever any Prince had." At the Restoration he declined the offer of a peerage, and died in 1670. The son distinguished himself in the naval service, rose to the rank of Admiral, was made Master of the Ordnance, and a Privy Councillor, and in 1682 created Lord Dartmouth. He followed in the same path of steadfast adherence to his King, refused to the very last to abandon the Stuarts at the subsequent Revolution, and died a prisoner in the Tower in 1691.

Samuel Pepys, afterwards Secretary of the Navy, was appointed to be of Lord Dartmouth's Council in

this expedition to Tangier. His journal* records many curious particulars of the voyage, and of the naval and military proceedings in the destruction of the mole and fortifications. He also was a great favourite with the King. As secretary to Sir Edward Montague, he accompanied him in the Royal Charles from Breda, on his Restoration; and was with him in the same boat when he landed at Dover. He now received the Royal command to repair to Portsmouth "at less than eight and forty hours' warning."

It would appear from Pepys's correspondence that Ken's services, as Chaplain of the Fleet, were secured at the earnest desire of Dartmouth, who was anxious to improve the discipline and moral condition of the Navy. Afterwards, when Dartmouth was in command of the fleet, intended to oppose the landing of the Prince of Orange, Pepys wrote to Dr. Peachell, Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, with an offer of the same appointment. He then says, "I was once concerned in the conveyance of a like application from the same hand, and on the very same occasion, to my reverend friend, Dr. Ken, now Bishop of Bath and Wells. In a word, my Lord Dartmouth is to the last degree solicitous in the choice of his Chaplain, and, judging that all the wished for qualifications (piety, authority, and learning) meet in you, is become a most earnest suitor to your acceptance of that charge. And I am by full experience in the case of Dr. Ken, convinced you could never do it with

* Life, Journal, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, 1841, 2 vols. 8vo.

such a concurrence of circumstances, public and private, to render the same worthy your acceptance, as under the invitation and patronage of this noble Lord."

Enclosed in this letter was one from Dartmouth, expressing that the application was "for the good of the Church of England, which is so much concerned." "I think it of the highest importance to have the ablest and best man I can possibly obtain to go with me, both for the service of God, and the good government of the Clergy that are Chaplains in the Fleet. My most earnest request to you is, that if it be not too great an inconvenience, you would do me the honour and favour to go with me this short voyage. I beg it of you for God's sake; and as I am to answer to Him for the preservation of so many souls as He hath been pleased to put under my care. I have nothing more but to beg your prayers and blessing, with pardon for this confident desire."*

Nothing could be more deplorable than the general condition and character of the naval chaplains, whom Ken was now invited to superintend. Of one appointed to this very expedition Pepys exclaims, "What a chaplain the Admiralty did send to my Lord Dartmouth, in the Grafton! a little deaf, crooked fellow, full of his design of going a hunting with my Lord."† The indignities and privations they suffered are well set forth in a representation from two of their body to Mr. Secretary Pepys.‡ They

* Life, Journal, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, vol. ii. p. 149.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 328.

‡ We are told by Lord Dartmouth himself of a case in which a naval

describe the ministers of the Church of England, serving at sea, as "too long navigant in a valley of tears: partly by misfortune, partly by their own faults, but chiefly by the iniquity of the times. The Chaplains of His Majesty's ships set out unfurnished with books and necessaries; and are forced on mean compliances from shifts sometimes, and base tricks. Hence they meet with neglects and contempts that always attend poverty. They want comforts which some of the meanest in the ship enjoy. Their small pay, equal but to a common seaman's, &c. The Chaplain is scarcely reckoned an Officer: he has no power even in his own office, not daring to order the bell to ring to prayers, but with leave first had of the Captain. Besides, the hours of prayer are not fixed and stated; but being left to the Commander's pleasure are sometimes omitted, as his particular business, indisposition, or indevotion incline. Hence great neglects, and sometimes total omission of divine service, which makes the Chaplain looked upon as useless, and, as the seamen sometimes tell him to his face, having their money for nothing," &c. The remedies they suggest are a proof of the sad degradation and neglect of the services of religion at that day in the fleets: to instance one only, "that the King allow a great Bible, and surplice, and several books of Common Prayer to each ship."* The Chaplains of

commander of high rank "did turn away his chaplain, Haslewood, for not drinking Shaftsbury's health." *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 34.

* *Life, Journal, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, vol. ii. p. 203. Some nasty verses in the *Annual Register* for 1758, under the title of "*A Sea-Chaplain's Petition to the Lieutenants in the Ward-room*," &c.,

the army were subjected to equal indignities and discouragements. A burlesque poem is still extant, which records, in perhaps exaggerated, but not altogether unfounded terms, the social degradation, the inadequate provision, the arrears, if not denial, of salary, and the base shifts for obtaining a livelihood, to which their vocation exposed them.*

Some surprise has been expressed, that Dr. Ken should undertake an employment so opposed to his peaceful habits and inclinations, especially as he was Chaplain to the King, and in the high road to preferment at home. Such a feeling would argue but a slight acquaintance with the motives that governed his whole life. It is needless to discuss the question whether the King laid his commands on him to join an enterprize in which he took so great an interest, and from thence to seek motives for his acceptance of the appointment. Such an appeal as Dartmouth's carried with it irresistible arguments: it struck a chord that vibrated to Ken's warm and simple heart. If he would, he dared not consult his own ease, when "the good government of the Clergy that were Chaplains in the fleet, and the preservation of so many souls were at stake."† The quiet fulfilment of his duties at

exhibit in a disgusting manner the indignities to which Navy Chaplains were subjected even at that much later period. It is stated in a note, that "every common seaman paid a groat a month out of his pay to the Chaplain, but the Lieutenants paid nothing." See also Southey's *Common Place Book*, ii. 13., for a Post-Captain's estimate of the value of a Sea-Chaplain's office, so late as 1775.

* "The Chaplain's Petition to the Honourable House for redress of Grievances. By one of the Camp Chaplains;" London, 1693, 4to. *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iv. p. 200.

† Ken's position as "Chaplain of the Fleet," was very different from

Winchester might have justified his refusal. But he yielded all to the great objects thus laid before him. He received the summons as an indication of God's will, knowing that in the midst of tumult and war, or in the recesses of solitude, the true minister of Christ may equally bear the divine commission. If employed in his divine Master's service, he was content. At home or abroad, in Africa or England, he surrendered himself to his appointed work.

His farewell to his friends must needs have been a hasty one, as he had very little more notice to prepare himself than was granted to Pepys. Most probably they went together to Portsmouth; for Pepys says he slept at Winchester on the 31st of July, *dined at the College* the 1st of August, and that evening slept at Portsmouth.* Lord Dartmouth's ship was the *Grafton*: he came "to Portsmouth on the 8th, and entertained, on board, Lord and Lady Gaynsborough. So we all went on board, for good and all."† Pepys writes to his friend Evelyn;

"The King's command (without any account of the reason of it) required my repair hither at less than eight and forty hours' warning. What our work is I am not solicitous to learn, nor forward to make guess at, it being handled by our Masters as a secret. This only I am sure of; that, over and above the satisfaction of being thought fit for some use or other ('tis no matter what), I shall go in a good ship, with a good fleet, under a very worthy leader, in a conversation as delightful as companions of the first form in divinity, law,

that of the common Sea-Chaplain; but what particular control he had over them does not appear.

* Life, Journal, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, vol. i. p. 327.

† Ibid.

physic, and the usefulest parts of mathematics can render it, Dr. Ken, Dr. Trumbull,* Dr. Lawrence,† and Mr. Sheres;‡ with the additional pleasure of concerts (much above the ordinary) of voices, flutes and violins; and to fill up all, good humour, good cheer, some good books, &c., and a reasonable prospect of being home again in less than two months.”

Evelyn, who in his Diary frequently expresses his respect for Ken, congratulates Pepys on his prospects of an agreeable expedition: “Methinks, when you recount all the circumstances of your voyage, your noble and choice company, such useful and delightful conversation, you leave us so naked at home, that, till you return from Barbary, we are in danger of becoming barbarians. The heroes are all embarked with my Lord Dartmouth and Mr. Pepys; nay, they seem to carry with them not a colony only, but a College, nay an whole University; all the sciences, all the arts, and all the Professors of them too.”§ His friend Houblon also expresses his “hope that the excellent company you have, all Masters of Arts and sciences, with music of all sorts, will divert your melancholy thoughts of leaving Old England, and some of your friends.”||

The following extracts from Pepys present us with some slight particulars of the position occupied by Ken in this expedition to Tangier:—

“The Fleet made several attempts to put to sea: but the wind was contrary; all at West and overblowing; so we could not stir.

* Judge Advocate of the Expedition.

† Physician to Lord Dartmouth.

‡ Engineer.

§ Life, Journal, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, vol. i. p. 326.

|| Ibid. p. 328.

"12th August. *Sunday*. Morning, prayers and sermon by Dr. Ken; prayers in the afternoon.

"19th. *Sunday*. Weighed and stood out to sea with the Fleet: all day blowing fresh. No sermon, but prayers twice by Dr. Ken.

"22nd. Morning fair. Land off the Start. Afternoon, anchor in Plymouth Sound. My Lord staying on board, Dr. Trumbull, Dr. Ken, &c. in a boat on shore.

"26th. *Sunday*. Much out of order with last night's weather, and the noise at my head from the steersman; kept my bed till the afternoon. Then on notes for Lord Dartmouth. He visited me and discoursed about his commission. In May last he did foresee, and mention in a letter to Mr. Secretary Jenkins, the difficulties he now finds in this business of Tangier, &c. This my Lord told Dr. Ken, too, in my hearing.—Prayers, walk the quarter-deck till supper, in my Lord's cabin.

"2nd September. *Sunday*. Noon, prayers. The King's declaration about the late (Rye House) Plot publickly read. At supper with my Lord. Discourse about Spirits, Dr. Ken asserting there were such, and I, with the rest, denying it: referred to another night's discourse.

"3rd. *Monday*. All this morning, till prayers, on deck." [From this it would appear that there was daily prayer on board.]

"9th. *Sunday*. Up to read by myself some chapters in the Bible; by and by to prayers. This being the day of Thanksgiving for the King's late deliverance, Dr. Ken gave us a very good sermon on the duty of subjects to their Prince.

"11th. After supper in my Lord's cabin, Dr. Ken and I were very hot in dispute about Spirits.

"12th. To supper and talk;—Dr. Ken producing his argument for Spirits from the ancient actings of the Oracles, which I took upon me, against the next time, to answer."

"13. *Thursday*. Captain Villers waked us early with

news of making the land off Spartel. Up to see it. After dinner we were come far in sight of the entrance to the Straits, between the shores. The customary money was collected of everybody that had not been in the Straits."*

The first notice of these discussions on Spirits, occurs on the 2nd of September, and the last after they had cast anchor in the Bay of Tangier :

"22 Sept. *Saturday.* Mighty talk (at supper) of Spirits in [the] York Castle, mighty noises being heard by the minister and most intelligent men, and particularly by Dr. Lawrence (the Physician on board). He told me how he now began to be convinced of Spirits, this having continued for some time, and appearing every three or four nights, but nothing since we came to this 22nd, being Saturday ; a good argument against Dr. Ken's argument, from the silence of Oracles."

It is not perfectly clear whether this friendly dispute referred to the question of Satanic influence, exercised in the Delphic and other ancient oracles ; or to a belief of the continued supernatural agency of Spirits ; or, if the latter, to what extent Dr. Ken maintained it.

With regard to the ancient oracles, Ken would probably adopt the view taken by the fathers of the Church, that prior to the Christian dispensation they were influenced by Satanic power, though their responses were often overruled for good ; but that such influence had ceased on the advent of our Saviour, or at least on the fall of paganism under Theodosius. Pepys on the other hand evidently agreed with many

* *Life, Journal, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, vol. i. p. 331-353.

learned Christian writers, that the heathen oracles were of human invention, for priestly or political ends; a mere imposture, without any supernatural interposition.

It has been already shown* that the continued agency of spirits was then so generally admitted, as even to degenerate into many vulgar errors and superstitions; dæmonology and witchcraft being an extensively popular belief. Ken, doubtless, thought with that greatest of Christian philosophers, Robert Boyle, that there was a broad distinction between the fabulous powers of magical influence, and the presence and energy of spiritual intelligences, good and evil, not permitted only, but ordained, to work out the purposes of the Most High. These last are subjects not so much of philosophical dispute, as of divine revelation. "I remember not," says Boyle, "that I have hitherto met with any, at least cogent, proof that miracles were to cease with the age of the Apostles, and not only the excellent Grotius, but Tertullian, Justin Martyr, Cyprian, and other ancients, tell us that the power of ejecting Devils out of possessed persons lasted long after that, and was not unfrequent in the Christian Church. This is an age when many do take upon them to decide all that is supernatural; and while they loudly cry up reason, make no better use of it than to employ it, first to depose faith, and then to serve their passions and interest."†

If Pepys meant to contend that the existence of Spirits, and miraculous influences, cannot stand the

* See pp. 100, 101.

† Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 76.

test of philosophy and the light of nature, the same objection might be made to any other mysteries of the faith. Let the claimant to philosophy explain the dominion of his will over his own fearful and wonderful organization. Let him define and fathom the life, sense, reason, by which he exists and acts, and lay his hand upon any link of the chain that binds the physical and spiritual being: then, and not till then, let him question the invisible agencies, and mysterious interpositions by which the ever present Deity conducts to its issue the mortal trial of His creatures. "Weigh me the weight of the fire, and measure me the blast of the wind, or call me again the day that is past. Then answered I, and said, What man is able to do that, that thou shouldst ask such things of me?" And what was the Archangel's reply? "Thine own things, and such as are grown up with thee, canst thou not know: how should thy vessel, then, be able to comprehend the way of the Highest?"*

We walk continually on the confines of the spiritual world: it is on our right hand, and on our left.—Thoughtful and reverent minds realize this at every step: it is at once their discipline and their comfort: it urges them to frequent prayer, keeps them ever watchful against evil, and strengthens them by the conviction of the presence of ministering angels. Instances of divine interposition through visions, and mysterious suggestions of the Spirit, are numerous and clearly established.† They are surely not less realities,

* Esdras iv. v. 10, 11. Compare Job xxvi. v. 14.

† See Bishop Bull on the nature and office of Angels. See also the

nor less confirmed to our deliberate convictions, because impalpable to the senses. However much, amidst the whirl of outward objects, men may boast their indifference or incredulity, there are moments when, in the stillness of solitude, or in the darkness of the night, the stoutest hearts will beat at the least unexplained noise or appearance, and witness to their involuntary belief in the deep unsearchable mysteries of the world unseen. Revelation being as far above reason, as reason is beyond the senses, the disputants, viewing the subject through different media, might have sailed round the world before they had adjusted their difference. Their arrival at Tangier, and the confusion which prevailed there, soon turned their minds in another direction: we hear no more of arguments, except when they took the same side to reprove "the viciousness of the place."

These discussions served at least to beguile the monotony of their sea-life. But besides his official duties, conversation, and music, Ken had leisure to indulge in his taste for poetry; for he now composed his epic poem of EDMUND.* Though it abounds in thoughts of exalted piety, we must confess that, as a literary composition, it vies with the tediousness of the African voyage. It had been well for his poetic fame, if the Epic had been consigned to a like fate with the subject of his verse, the Royal Edmund,

"Heroe, Martyr, Saint and King,"

testimony of Dr. Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, in his *Life* by Dr. Gauden, 1660, 12mo, p. 211.

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 24.

whom he describes to have been cast into the sea by the sailors, on a voyage to Anglia, at the instigation of the demons and monsters of the deep.*

The fleet arrived at Tangier after five weeks' passage.

"14th September. Up by break of day (entering the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar) to see the shore on both sides to my great pleasure. About 10, within the Bay of Tangier.

"15th. Up betimes to look with a glass on the Moor's camp.† (They had laid siege to the town with a considerable army.)

"21st Sept. *Friday*. Evening. With Dr. Trumbull and Dr. Ken, to see the Parade, and so home.‡

"23 Sept. *Sunday*. Shaved myself, the first time since coming from England. With my Lord, attended by all the

* Whilst truth compels us thus to speak of the *poetic* merits of EDMUND, we may record the testimony of Alexander Knox to its devotional spirit. Writing to his intimate friend, Bishop Jebb, he says, "Pray read some gnomic verses extracted from Bishop Ken, as they occur in a very long, and sometimes dull, epic of the good Bishop's; they may hitherto have escaped your notice; to me they seem not merely the description, but the effluence of a very mature state of Christianity." *Thirty Years' Correspondence between Bishop Jebb and Alexander Knox*, 2nd edit. ii. p. 260. Knox remarks, "that amongst Protestant divines none approach nearer the primitive warmth of soul than Bishop Ken." *Remains of Alexander Knox*, 3rd edit. iii. p. 109. Dr. Markland also observes, "As regards Bishop Ken's longer poems,—the touching devoutness of many of them has been unregarded, because of the ungraceful contrivances and heavy movement of his narrative. 'EDMUND,' the most important of these productions, an epic poem, in thirteen Books, is said to have been written about the time Ken went to Tangier. In this work are described the several events in the life of Edmund, whose anniversary, as King and Martyr, still preserves a place in our calendar, and whose virtues had been celebrated by an earlier poet, Lydgate." *Markland's Life of Ken*, p. 106.

† *Life, Journal, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, vol. i. pp. 354-5.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 360.

officers of the Garrison, with the mayor and aldermen of the city, to Church. Dr. Ken made an excellent sermon, full of the skill of a preacher; but nothing of a natural philosopher, it being all forced meat. From the Church to the garden of the Parson of the parish. So, with Dr. Trumbull and others, on board the brigantine within the mole, to see the nature of a galley. We rowed by boat with Sir J. Berry to [the] Whitby, in some danger, as Dr. Ken, who was with us, seemed by his fear to think." *

They found the mole, and the town itself, unworthy of the vast expense which had been incurred in their improvement. "How could any body ever think a place fit to be kept at this charge that, overlook'd by so many hills, can never be secured against an enemy!" "The place an ordinary place. Amazed to think how the King hath laid out so much money upon it. Wondered at the folly of the King's being at all this charge upon this town." "The least part of our ministers' mistakes, in reference to Tangier, hath been leading the King to squandering near two millions upon what as much more would never make useful to him." The Commissioners, appointed to survey the fortifications, reported that "to secure the place on the land side would require two millions." †

Lord Dartmouth, Dr. Ken, and all connected with the expedition, suffered more or less from the ill effects of the African climate. "The expedition should have been sent two months sooner, that they might have had long days, and fair weather above head, to work on the mole, before the storms and seas came on."

* Life, Journal, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, vol. i. p. 363.

† Ibid. vol. i. *passim*.

But the ignorance, supineness, and corruption of the people at Tangier, who were to assist in executing the King's orders caused the greatest disappointment: so that, instead of being back in two months, it took almost four to destroy the fortifications. Dartmouth sometimes despaired of accomplishing the design from the want of discipline among the naval commanders, "whose whole care was to profit themselves, and not the public service." He had also to contend against the corrupt influence, and secret opposition of the Governor, Colonel Kirke,—a ruthless barbarian and tyrant.

Such was the bad condition of the navy in the latter part of this reign, that England must have suffered a total defeat, if the war with Holland had continued. The King's ships were "converted into carriers of merchandize and treasure, for their own advantage, from Cadiz, up and down the Mediterranean, and on the coast of Portugal, &c. to the corrupting of the commanders and others." "We have every day fresh instances of their debaucheries, the King's own son, Grafton, being the top of all." "The tyranny and vice of Kirke is stupendous, as by infinite stories appears; and his exactions on poor merchants, letting nothing be sold till he had the refusal."*

Dr. Ken did all in his power to stem this torrent of immorality, but in vain:†

"30th Sept. *Sunday.* To church (in Tangier); a very fine and seasonable, but most unsuccessful, argument from

* *Life, Journal, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, vol. i. p. 403.

† See Markland's *Life of Ken*, pp. 54 to 57.

Dr. Ken, particularly in reproof of the vices of this town. I was in pain for the Governor, and the officers about us in church; but I perceived they regarded it not.

“7th Octo^r *Sunday*. Church: Dr. Ken made a weak sermon on the great business of our being called home. *

“14th Octo^r *Sunday*. From Church, and dined, by invitation, with Sir W. Booth on board the Grafton. After dinner Dr. Ken gave us a sermon. †

“21st Octo^r *Sunday*. To Church, Dr. Ken reading prayers. Mr. Hughes preached an ordinary sermon. ‡

“23rd Octo^r *Tuesday*. At supper, Dr. Ken told my Lord and the company (Mr. Hughes, minister of the parish, being by) how Kirke had put one Roberts on the parish, to be reader, who will swear, drink, &c., as freely as any man in the town: and now would put him on Shovel to be his chaplain in the James galley. But Dr. Ken proposes, and desires my Lord to put in one Mercer, schoolmaster of the town, for several reasons; among the rest, keeping out Roberts. The reason for Kirke’s thus appearing for him is, because he is brother to Mrs. Collier, his mistress. §

“26th Octo^r Being a little ill, and troubled at so much loose company at table, my Lord not being there, I dined in my chamber; and Dr. Ken, for the same reason, came and dined with me. We had a great deal of good discourse on the viciousness of this place, and it’s being time for Almighty God to destroy it.

“28th Octo^r *Sunday*. Very high discourse between Dr. Ken and me on the one side, and the Governor (Kirke) on the other, about the excessive liberty of swearing we observe here. The Doctor, it seems, had preached on it to-day. ||

* Life, Journal, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, vol. i. p. 384.

† Ibid. p. 393.

‡ Ibid. p. 424.

§ Ibid. p. 432. It was not likely that Ken, who had reproofed adultery in his King, would give his sanction to such a profligate appointment by a man whom all detested for his crimes.

|| Life, Journal, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, vol. i. p. 439.

"3rd Nov: *Saturday*. Afternoon. To the mole to walk with my Lord. So cold that I came back again, and went to visit Dr. Ken, who keeps his chamber, very ill of headache. To bed, much out of humour with my cold." *

At length, by the middle of January, 1684, the fortifications were destroyed: but the fleet was prevented sailing for England till the 5th of March. Much time was spent in concluding a treaty with the Moors for the release of the Christian slaves, arranging the compensation to the English, Portuguese, and other settlers for their loss of property, and getting them all on board. Every difficulty was interposed by the wilfulness of Kirke, whose peculations and tyranny were to be brought to an end: but the party on board the *Grafton*, who had been so much scandalized by his atrocities, had to endure the infliction of his company, as a fellow-passenger, on the homeward voyage. As he was joined with Lord Dartmouth and Pepys in the King's commission for destroying Tangier, he could not be transferred to any other than the Admiral's ship. Mr. Bowles says, "We know not what was the result of Ken's inquiries into the state of slavery in Africa; but we know that, in the same ship in which he returned to England, was embarked a greater monster than Africa—'*leonum arida nutrix*'—ever produced. Among the motley band of Papal soldiers that manned that distant garrison, was embarked for England that Kirke, who showed [afterwards] in the town of Taunton

* Life, Journal, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, vol. i. p. 441.

where, and how well, he had learned his trade of deceit, and lust, and murder ;—and he now accompanied home to the shores of Albion the humble, humane, and apostolic Ken. Such are the fortuitous admixtures of the world.”*

* Bowles's *Life of Ken*, vol. ii. p. 65.



CHAPTER IX.

Ken returns to England—Death of Izaak Walton; and of Bishop Morley—Ken appointed to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells—Attends the death-bed of Charles II.



HE fleet from Tangier cast anchor at Spithead the first week in April, 1684. It may be inferred from Pepys's Diary that Ken and others landed at Portsmouth, which was the nearest point to his friends at Winchester. We may imagine the alacrity with which he escaped from the confusion and noise on shipboard, so little congenial to his habits. No doubt he had found this sphere of usefulness disappointing to his hopes. The prevailing corruption and immorality at Tangier, and throughout the fleet, were beyond his control or influence. What anticipations of hope and fear must he have felt, as he came within sight of the Church of St. Cross, and after that the well known towers of Winchester. Alas! he was to receive no welcome from the loved lips, that for so many years had cheered him onward in his path; they were closed for this world. The devout Walton had fallen asleep; and he not by to receive his last words, and be the minister of Christian solace in his parting hour! Few men in so humble a sphere had lived a more useful life: the memory of few is more cherished. His writings are the mirror of a meek spirit, purified by a simple devotion to God. It is not too

much to say, that they have been our comfort under trials, and the companion of our holiday walks: they have made us love the pleasantness of the mountains,—they have decked the meadows with more than their native flowers, and have made the falls of rivers more musical; for they lift the hearts of the afflicted to their only Comforter, and the thankful praises of the happy to the divine Author of every blessing. Ken, amidst his regrets for such a loss, had the best comfort of mourners,—the conviction that he who had been to him all but a spiritual father, had left this jangling world for an eternal harmony and rest.

Walton had been already three months buried within Prior Silkstead's Chapel, in the Cathedral, where he and Ken had for many years joined in the services of the Church they both loved so well, and had each, in his sphere, so zealously served. We may judge of their mutual attachment by the epitaph that still marks the place of Walton's burial, and which in all likelihood was written by Ken himself;

HERE RESTETH THE BODY OF
MR. IZAAC WALTON,
WHO DIED THE 15TH OF DECEMBER,
1683.

*Alas, he's gone before,
Gone to return no more !
Our panting breasts aspire,
After their aged fire ;
Whose well spent life did last
Full ninety years and past.
But now he hath begun
That which will ne'er be done.
Crown'd with eternal blisse,
We wish our souls with his.*

VOTIS MODESTIS SIC FLERUNT LIBERI.

He had not been forgotten in Walton's will; being of the number of those to whom memorial rings were bequeathed: "to my brother Doc^r Ken a ring, with this motto, 'A FRIEND'S FAREWELL,—I. W. obiit 15 DEC. 1683,'"^{*} But he received a memorial of still greater value, which had probably been promised to him in Walton's lifetime as a pledge of their affection for each other. Dr. Donne before his death had sent to each of his dearest friends a ring of Heliotropian, or blood stone, on which was engraved the figure of the blessed Saviour, extended upon the cross of an anchor, the emblem of hope.† Izaak Walton was in

* The will thus expresses his wish in regard to these rings: "And I give to my son-in-law, Doctor Hawkins (whome I love as my owne son), and to my dafter, his wife, and my son Izaak, to each of them a ring with these words or motto,—LOVE MY MEMORY, I. W. obiit—to the Lord Bishop of Winton a ring with this motto,—A MITE FOR A MILLION, I. W. obiit. And to the friends hereafter named I give to each of them a ring with this motto,—A FRIEND'S FAREWELL, I. W. obiit.—And my will is, the saide rings be deliver'd within fortie dayes after my deth, and that the price or valew of the saide rings shall be 13s. 4d. a peice." *Life of Mr. Izaak Walton*, by Sir Harris Nicolas, prefixed to Pickering's edition of *The Complete Angler*, p. ciii. In the list of friends to whom these rings are bequeathed, we also find the names of Ion Ken and his wife, Sir George [Thomas?] and Lady Vernon, and her three daughters, and Mr. and Mrs. Beacham. Izaak Walton, his son and executor, is particularly desired to be "kinde to his Ante Rose Ken according to her necessitie and his own abilitie; and I comend one of her children to breide up, as I have saide I intend to doe, if he shall be able to doe it, as I know he will; for they be good folke." In reference to the motto on the ring for Morley, "*A mite for a million*," it may be mentioned, that when he was Bishop of Worcester, Walton was his "*Steward*." He calls him "my Steward" in his "*Vindication*" of himself against Baxter's reflections, 4to, 1683, p. 4 of "The Conclusion."

† Walton thus describes the interesting bequests of Donne: "Before I proceed further, I think fit to inform the reader, that not long before his death Dr. Donne caused to be drawn a figure of the Body of Christ,

the list : also Sir Henry Wotton ; Dr. Hall, Bishop of Exeter ; Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury ; Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, and Mr. George Herbert. It was Walton's happiness and his praise to be one of such a Christian circle : he cherished the gift during his life, *and sealed his last will with it*, declaring his "beleife to be in all poynts of faith, as the Church of England now professeth."* All Ken's letters in the Bodleian Library, and in the possession of Dr. Williams, Warden of New College, bear the impress of this seal, *as also his own will*, in which he professed his adherence to the "Communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross."† On Ken's death it descended to Isaac Walton, junior, *who likewise sealed his will with it*, bearing equal testimony to the "Communion of the Church of England, as having reformed herself with that sound judgement and godly sincerity, as to be the soundest and purest part of the Church Catholic at this time existent."‡ Thus in life



extended upon an anchor, like those which painters draw when they would present us with the picture of Christ crucified on the Cross: his varying no otherwise than to affix Him, not to a Cross, but to an anchor (the emblem of hope); this he caused to be drawn in little, and then many of those figures thus drawn to be engraven very small in Heliotropium stones, and set in gold, and of these he sent to many of his dearest friends, to be used as seals or rings, and kept as memorials of him, and his affection to them." Walton's *Life of Dr. Donne*: Zouch's edit. vol. i. p. 124.

* *Life of Izaak Walton*, by Sir Harris Nicolas, prefixed to Pickering's edit. of *The Complete Angler*, p. ciii.

† Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 27.

‡ *Life of Izaak Walton*, by Sir Harris Nicolas, p. cxxv.

they were all united by the closest bonds of affection, and in death each was a witness to the Holy Catholic and Apostolic faith of the Anglican Church. This little Heliotropian stone, set in a golden ring, and descending from one to the other as an heir loom, was a type of the succession of holy men, which will never be wanting in the Church of Christ.*

Twelve months had not glided over the grave of this venerable friend, before Ken was bereaved of another, scarcely less dear to him,—one to whom he was bound by ties of gratitude, and by kindred virtues. He was summoned to Farnham Castle to receive the parting benediction of the munificent, learned, and self-denying Bishop of Winchester. Morley had abounded in good works, which he knew to be the only riches he could carry with him when he died: he bestowed his wealth freely for the good of others. He did not “fare sumptuously every day;” for he had but one meal in the twenty-four hours, practised great austerity, rose at five o’clock “winter and summer,” and in the coldest mornings never had a fire, or his bed warmed at night. When his infirmities conducted him to his long home, where, that he might safely arrive, and that it might be to him a place of everlasting rest and happiness, “he did humbly in his last days beg all good men’s prayers.”†

* The ring is now in the possession of Henry Alworth Merewether, Esq., Q.C., of Bowden Hill, near Chippenham, who is descended from Walton in the female line. He derived it from the late Dr. Hawes, Minor Canon of Salisbury Cathedral, who was also connected in the same manner with Walton. See Pedigree of the Family of Ken in the Appendix to his Life by Markland, p. 126.

† Wood’s Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 772.

The King, when he appointed him to the See of Winchester, foretold that he would never be the richer for it: and the prediction was verified. His hospital at Winchester, built and endowed for the support of Clergymen's widows (himself unmarried), is but one example of his munificence. Again, the rebuilding of Wolvesey House for the Episcopal Palace, and the vast sums he expended on Farnham Castle, testified his liberality for the benefit of his successors in the See. His rich benefactions to Christ Church in Oxford, his almost unequalled contributions towards the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral, after the fire, with many other instances, proved that his chosen treasury was in heaven.

Burnet, in his History of his own Time, says, "he was too soon provoked, and too little master of himself upon those occasions." Lord Clarendon, on the contrary, represents him as a man of *remarkable temper* and prudence in conversation. His character will live in the imperishable colours of that Vandyke of History. Speaking of the accomplished Lord Falkland and his friends, Clarendon says,

"His house where he usually resided (Tew, or Burford, in Oxfordshire) being within ten or twelve miles of the University, looked like the University itself, by the company that was always found there. There was Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Earles, Mr. Chillingworth, and indeed all men of eminent parts and faculties in Oxford, besides those who resorted thither from London, who all found their lodgings there as ready as in the Colleges." * * * *
 "Dr. Morley was a gentleman of very eminent parts in all polite learning; of great wit, and readiness, and subtilty in disputation; and of remarkable temper and prudence in con-

versation, which rendered him most grateful in all the best company. He was Chaplain in the house, and to the family of the Lord and Lady Carnarvon, which needed a wise and a wary director. From some academic contests he had been engaged in during his living in Christ Church in Oxford, where he was always of the first eminency, he had, by the natural faction and animosity of those disputes, fallen under the reproach of holding some opinions, which were not then grateful to those Churchmen who had the greatest power in ecclesiastical promotions: and some sharp answers and replies he used to make to accidental discourses, and which, in truth, were made for mirth and pleasantness sake (as he was of the highest facetiousness) were reported and spread abroad to his prejudice: as being once asked by a grave country gentleman (who was desirous to be instructed what their tenets and opinions were) ‘what the Arminians held,’ he pleasantly answered, that ‘*they held all the best bishoprics and deaneries in England;*’ which was quickly reported abroad as Mr. Morley’s definition of the Arminian tenets. Such and the like harmless and jocular sayings, upon many accidental occasions, had wrought upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, Laud (who lived to change his mind, and to have a just esteem for him), to entertain some prejudice towards him; and the respect which was paid him by many eminent persons, as John Hampden, Arthur Goodwin, and others, who were not thought friends to the prosperity the Church was in, made others apprehend that he was not enough zealous for it. But that disaffection and virulency (which few men had then owned and discovered) no sooner appeared, in those and other men, than Dr. Morley made haste as publicly to oppose them, both in private and in public: which had the more effect to the benefit of the Church, by his being a person above all possible reproach, and known and valued by more persons of honour than most of the clergy were, and being not only without the envy of any preferment, but under the advantage of a discountenanced person. And as he was afterwards

the late King's Chaplain, and much regarded by him, and as long about him as any of his Chaplains were permitted to attend him; so presently after his murder he left the kingdom, and remained in banishment till his Majesty's [King Charles the Second's] happy return." *

Ken had the happiness by his presence to soothe the last moments of his dying patron. † When the spirit was fled he sent a messenger to his friend Francis Turner, now Bishop of Ely, that he might announce the event to the Primate. Turner's letter to Sancroft is in the Bodleian Library.

" Bromley, October 30, 1684.

" May it please your Grace,

" Late yesterday I received an express from Dr. Ken, written from Farnham, to inform me that it pleased God to release the good old Bishop out of all the miseries of this life, between two and three of the clock yesterday morning. So he was gathered under the feet of St. Simon and St. Jude. ‡ I suppose this authentic intelligence was sent me to Ely

* Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, and Life, in one vol., 1843, Oxford, pp. 926, 928. For a particular account of Morley, his life, benefactions, and publications, see Cassan's Lives of the Bishops of Winchester, vol. ii. p. 170.

† It would seem that Dr. Fitzwilliam also attended the death-bed of Morley, for Lady Rachel Russell thus writes to him on the 17th of November, 1684: "I would not send a sad, dull paper to wander up and down, as some did when you was at Farnham with the good Bishop whose present state [of bliss] you do in such a manner describe, as makes me feel at the reading (tho' 'tis not the first time neither) a lightness I am not used to, and by a kind of reflex act make it my own in prospect. The consideration of the other world is not only a very great, but (in my small judgement) the only support under the greatest of afflictions that can befall us here." Lady Russell's Letters, No. xviii. 7th edit. 1809.

‡ The 28th of the month being the Festival of St. Simon and St. Jude.

House on purpose that I might transmit it to your Grace at Lambeth, together with my truest duty, which I shall present in my personal attendance (if it please God) upon Sunday morning.

“May it please your Grace, I am
Your most obliged, most obedient
and most affectionate humble servant,

FRAN. ELIE.” *

According to his express desire Morley was “decently buried” in a little vault in Winchester Cathedral, “without attendance of heralds, or any secular pomp or solemnity.” He lies in peace in the same holy ground as his great predecessor Wykeham, and his humble friend Izaak Walton. His will† might serve as a model in this age, so often neglectful of the charge and privileges that our wealth lays upon us, when few men in their last appointments make sufficient provision for the Church and the poor. It is so remarkable a profession of faith, and such a proof of his humility, and of his earnest desire to promote the spiritual advancement of his diocese, that a few extracts cannot but be interesting :

“I, George Bp̃ of Winchester, though most unworthy of such an high dignity, charge, and trust in the Church of God, being at present, thanks be to God, in health of body, mind, and memory, but withall being in the eighty-seventh yeare of my age, and therefore beleiving I have but a very little while longer to stay here in this world, doe hereby declare this which followes to be my last will and testament. First,

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxxii. p. 165.

† Dated 12th July, 1684.

therefore, in all humility, and with profound reverence to the Divine Majesty, I doe resigne and recommend my immortall soule into the hands of my most mercifull Creator, our Lord God, the Father Almighty, wth I most humbly and most earnestly beseech Him that Hee would be pleased, notwithstanding all my former transgressions, rebellions, and backslidings, which I am heartily sorry for, and notwithstanding my present unworthynesse, to receive and accept of, not for any merit of my owne (which I doe utterly disclaime and renounce), but for the merit and satisfaction, and through the mediation and intercession of His only Sonne and our only Saviour and Redeemer, our Lord God the Sonne, the Lord God Christ Jesus, and to this end I doe in His name and for His sake most humbly and most earnestly implore the Divine Goodnesse to give me more and more grace (during the short remainder of my life) dayly to renew and improve my repentance, and more and more to mortify all my evell and corrupt affections by the gracious and most powerfull assistance of His most Holy Spirit, co-eternall and co-equall with the Father and the Sonne, our Lord God the Holy Ghost, to which most Holy and most Blessed Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity (whatsoever becomes of all such sinfull wretches as I am), be ascribed and given (as is most due) all honour and glory, with all thanksgiving and obedience both in Heaven and Earth, now and for ever more. Amen."

"Secondly, as touching my body (whensoever or wheresoever I shall dye) my will is, that, as soone as conveniently it can, it may without attendance of heralds, or any secular pomp or solemnity, be decently buried either in the Bp's owne private Chappell, or in one of the Isles of the Cathedral Church at Winchester, at or after evening prayer, with the Office appointed by the Church for the buryall of the dead, without any funerall sermon or panegyricall oration, because (besides myne owne being unworthy of any such publicke commemoration) I have observed that *In hujusmodi*
vis aut nunquam aut rare deest peccatum. Neither

will I have any monument or stately tomb erected for me, but only a faire black marble stone to cover my grave, with such an inscription in white large legible characters engraven upon it as I shall leave behind me to that end."

He gives the Communion plate of his private chapel to his successors for ever; and his library to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral, for the use of such Clergymen, Country Parsons, Vicars and Curates of the Diocese, as have not a sufficient stock of books of their own, nor of money to buy them. He desires that his "episcopal habits, and robe of the Prelate of the Garter, may not be cut out in pieces, or put to any household or unworthy uses, and that his ordinary ecclesiastical habits, as gowns, cassocks, surplices, &c., may be given to such poor, honest, conformable Clergymen as his executor thinks to have most need of them." After various bequests to his family, and servants, and others,* he thus proceeds:—

"And now to conclude, as I began, with giving unto God, that is to the Church and the poore for God's sake, I doe out of the remainder of that which God hath given me give one thousand pounds for the purchaseing of fifty pounds per ann. yearly rent for ever, either of the fee farme rents, or of freehold land of inheritance, such as will be sure to yeild the rent over and above all taxes and other insident charges, or of a yearly rent charge of fifty pounds per ann. for ever, free from taxes and all other burdens, and sufficiently secured to be and

* Ken, as one of the Prebends of Winchester, had the bequest of "a ring of twenty shillings and mourning," and ten pounds were to be given to "the poore of the Soake, near Winchester," as also donations to the poor of six other parishes.

to continue to be foe. And if this cannot be done any of these wayes for a thousand pounds, that foe much more money (as will doe it one or other of these wayes) shall be added to it by my executor, *yea though perhaps it cannot be done without selling some of my moveable goods* for the doing of it. Now of this fifty pounds per ann. I give twenty pounds per ann. for an augmentation to the Vicaridge of Farnham, in Surrey, to be paid presently after it is purchased (which I hope will be in six months after my decease, if not before I dye) to the present Vicar and his successors by tenne pounds every halfe year, from time to time for ever, either by my executor and his heires, or by such as I shall make my trustees for that end and purpose: but upon condition, first, that the Vicar who is to have augmentation shall always reside upon this Vicaridge, notwithstanding any dispensation hee may obtaine or be offered to the contrary. Secondly, upon condition also that hee or his Curate doe *reade the Common Prayer, or publick service of the Church*, not only on Sundayes, and Holydayes, and Wednesdayes, and Frydayes, but *every day in the weake, morning and evening*, at some such houres as most of devout and well affected people may most conveniently resort unto it. Thirdly and lastly, upon condition likewise that hee or his Curate shall catechize the children and servants of the parish, or as many of them as will come to be catechized, every Sunday. Item, out of the aforesaid fifty pounds per ann. I give twenty pounds per ann. for an augmentation of maintenance in the two parish churches within the towne of Guilford, in Surrey, after they shall be united (as I hope they will be shortly) upon such conditions as I shall propose unto them. Item, the remaining tenne pounds per annum I give for an augmentation to the Vicaridge of Horfwell, in Surrey, upon condition the vicaridge house and tythes be restored to the Church, and those that have bought the great tythes do settle tenne pounds a yeare more for ever upon the vicaridge, and upon condition the Vicar for the time being *doe reade the service of the Church*,

*or the Common Prayer, morning and evening, daily, as the Vicar of Farnhã is obliged to doe.**

It might be supposed that Ken had now lost his best patron, and with him the prospect of further promotion. Faithful and intrepid monitors of loyalty are not usually sharers in Court favours. As he had never fought for these, we might expect that, amidst the prevailing corruption, one so unpretending and holy would be overlooked. But it was otherwise ordained. Though he had dared to rebuke the King's mistress, and thus reminded Charles himself of his own neglected duties, he met with a very unexpected return. Charles was not wanting in discernment of character; he at least knew how to reverence in another the dignity of virtues he could not imitate.† He had once knelt at the bed side of Bishop Duppa to ask his Tutor's dying blessing, and now generously forgave, if ever he seriously repented, his Chaplain's faithfulness in reproof. Ken's simplicity and blameless life had commended him to the veneration of all men: his bold, fervid eloquence inspired even the thoughtless monarch with a sense of awe. On a former occasion, when he was appointed to preach

* In a Codicil, dated a year afterwards, "having by God's great mercy lived long enough to have another halfe yeares rent due unto me," he bequeaths 500*l.* to the building of his Majesty's Military Hospital at Chelsea, "in an humble and grateful acknowledgement of the King's favour and kindnesse, much beyond my merite, humbly beseeching his Majesty to accept it, *as being all, or neare all I have left to dispose of.*"

† Dr. Markland quotes from Boswell an observation of Dr. Johnson on the character of Charles II.: "He was licentious in his practice, but he always had a reverence for what was good. He knew his people, and rewarded merit. The Church was at no time better filled than in his reign." *Life of Ken*, 2nd edit. 1849, p. 58.

before the Court at Whitehall, Charles left the circle of his vicious flatterers, saying, "I must go and hear Ken tell me of my faults." Now when he was to decide on the appointment of a new Bishop, he enquired in his own characteristic way, "Where is the good little man that refused his lodging to poor Nell?"*

Independently of this personal respect, other considerations perhaps weighed with the King in Dr. Ken's advancement. He could not doubt his willing allegiance in all that might consist with the interests of the Church. Moreover, Ken held the doctrines of "Passive obedience, and Non-resistance." These had been established as essential political principles by both Houses of Parliament at the Restoration, but had gradually ceased to be part of the popular creed, in consequence of the arbitrary proceedings of the King, and the encouragement given to Papists. It was not, however, Ken's habit of mind to change his principles, because other men did so; and he might, therefore, be safely depended upon to maintain the prerogative of the Crown in any extremity. And where could Charles hope to find a more faithful loyalist than the friend of Morley, and the brother of Walton?†

* I can find no authority for these anecdotes: but they are, perhaps, not less true because traditional. Bowles's version is, that "when many applications were made [for the vacant Bishopric], and the services of the Dean, Canon of Windsor, Vicar of Twickenham, &c. [the compliant Dean Meggot] were put forth, the King's peremptory orders were,—'Odds fish! who shall have Bath and Wells, but the *little fellow* who would not give POOR NELLY a lodging.'" *Life of Ken*, vol. ii. p. 66.

† Honest Izaak had been entrusted, after the battle of Worcester, with the custody of the lesser George. He received it from Mr. Mil-

Burnet, who could scarcely mention Ken without some ill-natured remark, gives this account of his advancement;

“ Ken succeeded Mews in Bath and Wells—a man of an ascetic course of life,* and yet of a very lively temper, but too hot and sudden. He had a very edifying way of preaching: but it was more apt to move the passions than to instruct, so that his sermons were rather beautiful than solid; yet his way in them was very taking. The King seemed fond of him; and by him and Turner the Papists hoped, that great progress might be made in gaining, or at least deluding, the clergy. It was observed that all the men in favour among the clergy were unmarried; from whom they [the Papists] might more probably promise themselves a disposition to come over to them.” †

Be this as it may, the death of his friend Morley was the immediate prelude to his own advancement. Dr. Mews being translated from Bath and Wells to Winchester, it was at once resolved that Ken should be appointed to the former See. “ The King himself

ward, a loyalist prisoner in the garrison of Stafford, and restored it to Colonel Blague, who gave it into the King's own hand. See Ashmole's History of the Order of the Garter, p. 228. There may have been another reason why the good old man had been known to the King,—for Charles himself was “ a lover of the angle.” See Diary of Henry Sidney, 30th June and 1st July, 1679, vol. i. p. 20; and Rereby's Memoirs, p. 232.

* Kennett says, he was “ a man eminent for a devotional and austere life.” Kennett's Complete Hist., vol. iii. p. 422.

† Burnet's History of his own Time, edit. 1839, pp. 382, 383. He is quite inaccurate in this last statement: Turner, Lloyd, Frampton, and others were married. The lively pleasure which Ken expressed at the conversion of Colonel Fitzpatrick from Romanism, and his hopes of several others following “ so good an example,” which he considers would be a blessing to them, are a sufficient answer to Burnet's inuendo that the Papists expected to gain proselytes by Ken's being made a Bishop.

stopped all attempts of his friends (who would of their own inclination have applied in his behalf) with this remarkable saying, that Dr. Ken should succeed, but that he designed it should be from his own peculiar appointment, and accordingly the King himself gave order for a *Congé d'elire* to pass the Seals for that purpose.* Lord Sunderland thus writes to Dr. Mews, to announce his intended appointment to Winchester:—

“ Whitehall, 4th Nov., 1684.†

“ My Lord,

“ The King having been pleased to nominate your Lordship (of whose good services to the Church and himself he is abundantly satisfied) to succeed the late Lord Bishop of Winton in that See, I would not omit advising you thereof by the first opportunity: and also to let you know the particular satisfaction I have in it, as being

“ Your Lordship’s most humble Servant,

“ SUNDERLAND.”‡

The following letter in the Lord Chamberlain’s office, dated the same day, and appointing another Chaplain to preach in Ken’s stead, shows that there was no hesitation in the King’s mind, as to his succeeding Dr. Mews at Bath and Wells:—

“ Court at Whitehall, Nov. 4th, 1684.

“ Sir,

“ Whereas I have thought fit to appoint you to give your attendance upon His Majestie, and preach in the moneth of February, *in the place of Dr. Ken, who is removed to be a*

* Hawkins’s *Life of Ken*, p. 8.

† Morley died 29th October, 1684.

‡ Secretary of State’s Letter Books.

Bishop ; These are therefore to pray and require you to take notice hereof, and that you may make your repayre unto His Majestie's Court wheresoever it shall then be, &c. &c.

"Your loving friend,

"ARLINGTON.

"For Mr. Henry Fox, one of His Majestie's Chaplaynes in ordinary in wayting in ye moneth of February."

After his election, he went through the other usual forms,* and took once more the OATH OF ALLEGIANCE, that turning point of the chief events which marked the last twenty years of his life. He was consecrated at Lambeth Palace on the Festival of St. Paul, the 25th of January 1685. There had been few periods in the history of the English Church, when the duties of the office more needed the qualities of that great Apostle: and seldom, perhaps, were they undertaken with more singleness of purpose, humility, and self-devotion.

His friend Francis Turner had been made Bishop of Rochester in 1683, and in the next year translated to Ely: he had now the happiness to give Ken his blessing, and, with the Archbishop and others, to lay hands upon his head, that he might receive admission

* The date of his election by the Dean and Chapter of Wells was
16th December, 1684.

Letters commendatory from the King to the Dean and Chapter,
9th January, 1685.

Commission 14th January, 1685.

Confirmation 17th January, 1685.

Consecration in Lambeth Chapel . . 25th January, 1685,
on Sunday, the Festival of St. Paul's Conversion, by Henry Compton, Bishop of London, Nathaniel Crewe of Durham, William Lloyd of Peterborough, Francis Turner of Ely, and Thomas Sprat of Rochester.

into the same holy office. The consecration sermon was preached by another early Wykehamist friend, and Co-Fellow of Winchester College, Edward Young.* Fortunately this is extant: it contains passages of great force, which throw light on some points of the new Bishop's character. Perhaps the preacher had given a promise to abstain from anything like praise. His affection, however, founded on a long acquaintance with the virtues of Ken, could not be entirely repressed: but he has treated his subject with such skill, that whilst he draws throughout the true portrait of his friend, it is given in the person of Timothy, as combining all the qualities of "a man of confirmed Faith."

His text is taken from the 2nd Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, ch. i. v. 6: "*Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the Gift of God, which is in thee by the putting on of my bands.*" He blesses God for the great happiness and glory of the Church in the King's solicitude to make choice of one, who by his ardent love and zeal would lead men towards Heaven. Speaking of the unwillingness of Bishops in the primitive ages to undertake the office, from its responsibilities and danger, he intimates that *Ken had not only been "wish'd and nominated, but sought, woo'd, and commanded out of his retirement to the undertaking of the charge."*† He tells him not to scruple; for

* Canon, and subsequently Dean, of Salisbury; also Chaplain in Ordinary and Clerk of the Closet. He was father to Edward Young, the author of "*The Night Thoughts*," who was also a Wykehamist. Walcott's William of Wykeham, p. 419; and Johnson's Lives of the Poets. The Sermon was published in 4to, 1685

† This receives confirmation from a passage in Ken's Poems.

“when God (Who makes sufficient whom He pleaseth) determines such a charge for a man, then compliance is safe, and the blessing indubitable; it is a providential designation.” The Gift or Effusion of the Holy Ghost, which Timothy received at his consecration, he distributes into three particular graces, enumerated by St. Paul in the verse following the text,—*might, love, and a sound mind*; and all these he applies to Ken with suitable encouragements and advice. He concludes his eloquent discourse with this exhortation and promise to Ken:

“And now (O Timothy) see, here are the arts of thy Government; continue in these, and thou needest no other policy; God will take all the other care that is necessary for the establishment of His own Church. Do thou ‘stir up the Gift of God which is in thee;’ do thou quicken the divine ‘coal that toucheth thee,’ and thy coal shall blaze into a flame, and thy flame shall be ennobled into a star, a vast orb of light, such as shall crown the head of all those happy men, who by their conduct and example ‘turn many unto righteousness.’”

Thus, at the age of forty-eight, Ken was raised to the most responsible office of the Church to which he had already dedicated the prime of his life. He was no longer to enjoy a retirement that favoured the subduing of earthly temptations, being called to a wider range of public duties. Yet in this elevation we shall find him more and more fervent in the exercise of the lowly graces of charity, self-denial, and prayer. His life was now to exhibit in a fuller light that exalted love of God, which was the very food of his soul, and which is so beautifully expressed in all his prayers,

and in so many of his poems.* His consistency had already been tried in a subordinate station. Now, as the favourite of an irreligious Prince, whose very preference of him might involve temptations to unfaithful acquiescence, he was called to a yet more rigid exercise of constancy in maintaining the truth of doctrine, and purity of life, openly set at nought in a profligate court. To be humble and meek, yet jealous for God's honour,—patient and forbearing, yet bold in reproof,—required the exercise of qualities not generally united in the same person.

It was on Sunday, and the Festival of the Conversion of St. Paul, that he had been consecrated. It

* To give one example only ;

“ Lord, when Thy mighty Notion fills my mind,
 No words to vent that boundless thought I find ;
 Thou all perfection, Thou all lovely art,
 And should'st Thou not Thyself to us impart,
 Should'st Thou bare being give, and heav'n detain,
 Thou yet all intellectual love would'st gain :
 Thy loveliness no mind can ever know,
 But must enamour'd of Thy Godhead grow ;
 In Thee all that is amiable or sweet,
 All irresistible attractions meet ;
 Nothing or charms, or beauty can possess,
 But what it borrows of Thy loveliness ;
 Incomprehensible Thou art, above
 My utmost thought, but not beyond my love ;
 High as Thou art, Thou canst not love transcend,
 I love Thee more, the less I comprehend ;
 The more Thou art above expression rais'd,
 Thou art the nobler subject to be prais'd ;
 But should I love in most intense degree,
 How incommensurate is all to Thee ?
 Lord, I now love by faith ;—a loftier flight
 My Love will take, when I shall love by sight.”

Ken's Poems, vol. ii. p. 5 : “ God's Attributes or Perfections.”

had been usual on these occasions for the new Bishop, at his own charge, but in the palace of the Archbishop, to give "a very splendid and magnificent dinner to the greatest of the nobility,—clergy, judges, privy counsellors, &c., honouring it with their presence."* Instead of this, Ken dedicated the sum it would have cost to a holier purpose.

He was poor in this world's possessions. In disposing of the income of his Fellowship and Prebendal stall at Winchester, he considered himself simply as God's almoner. To purchase a heavenly treasure he ever distributed all he had; so that when he was consecrated Bishop, Mr. Francis Morley, the nephew of his late friend, "knowing how little he had provided for such an expence as attends the entrance and continuance in such a chair, most generously offered, and lent him, a considerable sum to defray his expences, and furnish him with an equipage as his station required."† But even of this benevolence he made a first fruit's offering to the glory of God. In the general list of contributors to the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral, destroyed in the late fire of London, we find this entry:—

| | |
|--|------------------|
| January 26th, 1684-5, Dr. Thomas Ken, | } 100 <i>l</i> . |
| Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, in lieu | |
| of his consecration dinner and gloves. ‡ | |

* Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia*, part ii. p. 22, 1682.

† Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 20.

‡ Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, p. 168. Dr. John Fell first set this example two years before, when he was consecrated to the See of Oxford. Also Groome's *Dignity of the Clergy*, 8vo, 1710, p. 225.

His thus applying the sum usually expended in a sumptuous festival, was an innovation that marks, not merely his charitable temper, but his good sense, his love of simplicity, and his exalted notion of the spiritual character of his office. In Bishop Fell, a prelate of hereditary and almost boundless munificence, he had a precedent which none could gainsay or misunderstand. We can better estimate the holy singularity of Fell and Ken, by the fact that Dr. John Earle, who was "a man universally beloved for his sweet and gentle disposition, most humble and meek, an excellent scholar and rare preacher,"—expended near 600*l.* on "one of the most plentiful and magnificent dinners" that the courtly John Evelyn "ever saw in his life."* The custom had, doubtless, descended from ancient times: and in the fable of the Nag's Head consecration, we are reminded how the dinner, provided by Archbishop Parker, at the tavern of that name, for the Commissioners who had confirmed his election, brought a scandal on our reformed Church, which it has been the work of three centuries effectually to disprove and silence.†

* Evelyn's Diary, 30th November, 1662. There was also "a mighty feast, all the nobility in town, the Lord Mayor of London, Sheriffs, Duke of Albemarle, &c. being present," at Sheldon's translation from London to Canterbury, on the 31st of August, 1663; Evelyn's Diary.

† Lingard's History of England, 5th edit. vol. vi. p. 670. Heylin's History of the Reformation, 1849, edited by the Rev. J. C. Robertson, for the Eccles. Hist. Society, 8vo, vol. ii. p. 309. At Parker's consecration there was "a plentiful dinner" at Lambeth. Burnet says, that "Leighton told him he was struck with the feasting and jollity of the day of his consecration, and thought it had not such an appearance of seriousness or piety as became the new modelling of a Church." Burnet's Hist. of his own Time.

Ken's subscription to St. Paul's was made the day after his consecration.* And here it may be noticed, that he gave 30*l.* towards building the new school-room at Winchester.† His name also appears among the contributors to the College Library, to which he gave 30*l.* and several scarce and valuable books.‡ Well might Hawkins say, "if any should imagine that he was given to extravagance, in that having enjoyed such preferments he was still poor, it may be observed that, *if there can be an extravagant in good works, he was such in that most excellent gift of charity.*"§ And again, "his whole fortune lying in his preferments, those of his relations who were necessitous (but whom he could never regard the less for their being so) were a continual drain on his revenue: and he seemed to joy with those who lived in more plenty, not more for their own well-being, than that thereby he was at

* On this day also he resigned his Fellowship of Winchester: the following is the entry in the College Rolls:

"*Nos Thomas, permissione Divinâ Bathon et Wellen Episcopus, et Collegii B^{ti} M^{ri} prope Winton Socius, totum jus quod habemus, vel unquam habuimus, in isto Collegio in manus Venerabilis viri Dⁿⁱ Johannis Nicholas S. T. P. et ejusdem Collegii Custodis libenter resignamus. In cujus rei testimonium Sigillum nostrum Episcopale apponi fecimus. Jan. 26, 1684.*"

"*THOMAS BATHON ET WELLEN.*"

† History and Antiquities of Winchester, 12mo, 1773. The foundation of the school-room was laid in September, 1683, and it was finished on the 11th of June, 1687. Bishop Morley gave 10*l.* and 40 oaks, and Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, 20*l.* Ken's name is accidentally omitted in Walcott's William of Wykeham, p. 230.

‡ "Thomas Ken; Hujus Collegii Socius dedit,
Comptoni Carleton Theolog. Scholast. 2 vols.
Ejusdem Philosophia Univerſi.
Bonfrerii Pentateuchum.
Folingii Pfalterium."

List of Contributors, kept at the Library of Winchester.

§ Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 21.

liberty to dispense the remainder of his income to necessitous strangers, which he always did with so open a bounty, that he became *a common father to all the sons and daughters of affliction.*"*

It was on Sunday, and the Festival of St. Paul, that he was consecrated: and now, in order to estimate the difficulties that were likely to beset his path, let us, from the meditations of the new-made Bishop, turn to the spectacle of King Charles, and his dissolute court, *on the same evening.* "I saw (says Evelyn, who was witness to it) this evening such a scene of profuse gaming, and the King in the midst of his three concubines, as I had never before seen—luxurious dallying and profaneness." 25th January, 1685. † And afterwards, referring to the same occasion, he adds, "I can never forget the inexpressible luxury, and profaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening), which this day se'nnight I was witness of: the King sitting and toying with his concubines Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, &c., a French boy singing love-songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers, and other dissolute persons, were at Bassett round a large table, a bank of at least 2,000*l.* in gold before them; upon which two gentlemen, who were with me, made reflections with astonishment. *Six days after, all was in the dust.*" ‡

Yes,—within one short week from his consecration, Ken, "the most in favour with him of all the

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 22.

† Evelyn's *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 203.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 210.

Bishops," * was suddenly summoned to the bed-side of the dying King. The cold hand was already laid upon Charles. Dismay and confusion now reigned within the palace, which but as yesterday furnished a scene of such manifold wickedness as Evelyn says, "he had never before seen." The death-summons came over those ungodly revellers like the hand-writing on the wall at Belshazzar's feast. "Then the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other." Burnet thus describes the fatal attack of Charles; "the physician was scarce come in, when the King, who seemed all the while to be in great confusion, fell down all of a sudden in a fit, like an apoplexy: he looked black, and his eyes turned in his head."†

Did we justly view it, the life of a reprobate man is a dreadful spectacle; how much more his death! Whether peasant or king, each is susceptible of the same vileness, each reserved for a like doom, according to the measure of his opportunities misused. In life, a throne can lift the one but a few steps above the earth on which the other toils: in death, a common grave reduces them to a level; some few feet above or below the surface make the king, or the corpse. Ken could not but be deeply affected by the awful scene. As he had before been a monitor, he would now fain act the part of a comforter. "Those who assisted his Majesty's devotions were, the Archbishop of Canter-

* Burnet's History of his own Time, Editⁿ 1839, p. 392.

† Ibid. p. 391.

bury,* the Bishops of London, Durham, and Ely, but more especially Dr. Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells.”†

“ And now, at this juncture it was, when the King’s period of life drew near, his distemper seizing his head, and our Bishop, well knowing how much had been put off to that last point, and fearing the strength of his distemper would give him but little time (as indeed it proved), his duty urging him, he gave a close attendance by the royal bed, *without any intermission at least for three whole days and nights*, watching at proper intervals, to suggest pious and proper thoughts, and ejaculations on so serious an occasion.”‡ “ Having homely urged the necessity of a full, and prevailed, as is hoped, for a sincere repentance, the Bishop several times proposed the administration of the Holy Sacrament. But although it was not absolutely rejected, it was yet delayed from time to time, till (I know not by what authority) the Bishop, and all others present, were put forth from the presence for about the space of half an hour, during which time it has been sug-

* It would appear from the following letter to the Archbishop from Turner, Bishop of Ely, that Sancroft was not very prompt in his attendance :

“ My Lord,

“ I am advis’d by some y^t love us, and honor y^r Grace, to write you this short account of the King’s condition. His feavor is high uppō him, and hee breaths extreme short. His Physitians are divided; som of y^m say hee is in extreame and immediate danger: they sadly foretell this night will be a black one. Most of the Bp^s are heere, and several Lords aske where is my Lord Archbp. ? If y^r Grace thinkes fitt to come over presently, I shall attend to give you further informations.

“ Y^r Grace’s most obedient Serv^t,

“ FRAN. ELIE.

“ Thursday,

between 6 and 7 at night.

Whitehall.”

Tanner MSS., vol. xxxii. fol. 22.

† Evelyn’s Diary, vol. ii. p. 205.

‡ Hawkins’s Life of Ken, p. 10.

gested that Father Huddleston was admitted to give extreme unction."*

Such is the simple narrative of Hawkins, which he, no doubt, received from Ken himself. It differs essentially from that of Burnet, who was not present, yet according to his frequent custom ventures unauthenticated and prejudiced statements. He says,

"Ken applied himself much to the awakening of the King's conscience. He spoke with great elevation both of thought and expression, like a man inspired, as those who were present told me. He resumed the matter often, and pronounced many short ejaculations and prayers which affected all that were present, except him that was the most concerned, who seemed to take no notice of him, and made no answers to him. He pressed the King six or seven times to receive the Sacrament: but the King always declined it, saying he was very weak. A table with the elements upon it, ready to be consecrated, was brought into the room, which occasioned a report to be then spread about that he had received it. Ken pressed him to declare that he desired it, and that he died in communion of the Church of England. To that he answered nothing. Ken asked him if he desired absolution of his sins. It seems the King, if he then thought anything at all, thought that would do him no hurt. So Ken pronounced it over him: for which he was blamed, since the King expressed no sense of sorrow for his past life, nor any purpose of amendment. It was thought to be a prostitution of the peace of the Church, to give it to one who, after a life

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p 12.

There is a short notice of Ken in a book, entitled, "Memoirs of the most Illustrious Persons who died in 1711," 8vo, 1712. It states (p. 437) that the Bishop urged the King for this, among other reasons, "that he had administered that ordinance to him but the Christmas before." Evelyn, in his Diary, says, Charles communicated on Easter-day in the preceding year, 30th March, 1684. These facts prove his outward conformity to the English Church to within a very short period of his death. *

led as the King's had been, seemed to harden himself against everything that could be said to him."*

Nothing can be more culpably erroneous than this last part of Burnet's statement. It is one of the many instances of the prejudice and unscrupulous boldness of this celebrated writer, who was a principal mover of the Revolution, and implacable towards the house of Stuart, of which Ken was so inflexible an adherent. Burnet was a powerful disputant in the controversies of his time: as an historian, so partial, that our admiration of his talents frequently yields to astonishment at his recklessness.† As a counsellor of William, he inflicted deep wounds on the Church of England, and lent his aid to abolish Episcopacy in Scotland. His account of the last moments of Charles is inconsistent with itself. He would have it appear that the King neither thought, nor spoke, nor cared about religion: yet in another place he admits, that, "after such a confession to Huddlestone, the Priest, as he could make (in his exhausted state), and receiving absolution, and the other Sacraments, he seemed to be at great ease upon it." He was not present at the scene; and he might have given Bishop Ken credit for a just sense of responsibility in pronouncing the peace of the Church, admitting, as he does, that he "spoke like a man inspired."‡

* Burnet's History of his own Time, Edit. 1839, p. 392.

† I speak only of the *political* unfairness of his writings. We may not, however, forget his admirable Lives of Bishop Bedell, and Lord Rochester, nor his "Pastoral Care," and still less his truly apostolic zeal in the government of his diocese.

‡ Macaulay, in his History of England, always does justice to the character of Ken. In his account of the death-bed scene he says,

Surely we may believe, that in the long days and nights, during which this holy messenger had watched by the bed-side of the dying King, while his exhortations were seconded by pain, and the fearful looking for of what was to come, he could best decide on the proper moment for pronouncing absolution. He was aided, too, by the judgment of the four other prelates who were present. Ken knew the ministerial authority committed to him. Our Church, in her Ordination Office, has solemnly invested her priests with the power of absolution. In her Order for the Visitation of the Sick, she has directed them, on a special confession of sin, to pronounce pardon "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." We could, therefore, readily excuse the Bishop, if for the "Lord's anointed" he felt a deep—nay, even were it an indulgent—anxiety to convey to him the most joyful tidings that could be brought to the ears

"Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, then tried his powers of persuasion. He was a man of parts and learning, of quick sensibility and stainless virtue. His elaborate works have long been forgotten; but his morning and evening hymns are still repeated daily in thousands of dwellings. Though, like most of his order, zealous for monarchy, he was no sycophant. Before he became a Bishop, he had maintained the honour of his gown by refusing, when the Court was at Winchester, to let Eleanor Gwynn lodge in the house which he occupied there as a prebendary. The King had sense enough to respect so manly a spirit. Of all the prelates he liked Ken the best. It was to no purpose, however, that the good Bishop now put forth all his eloquence. His solemn and pathetic exhortation awed and melted the bystanders to such a degree that some among them believed him to be filled with the same spirit, which in the old time had, by the mouths of Nathan and Elias, called sinful princes to repentance." Macaulay's *History of England* (5th edition), vol. i. p. 432. Elsewhere Mr. Macaulay alludes to "a spirit of fervent and exalted piety," as characteristic of the compositions of Ken and Leighton. *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 73.

of a dying man. Great is the value of an immortal soul, over which the angels of heaven rejoice: and with all the awful apprehensions we must ever entertain of the efficacy of a death-bed repentance, Ken would lose nothing in our esteem, if he yearned to pronounce the blessing, "By His authority committed unto me I absolve thee."*

But he requires no apology: Burnet's assertions that Charles died impenitent, and that Ken improperly gave him absolution, are simply unfounded. We have the clearest evidence of those who were present that the King repeatedly confessed his sins, and showed tokens of sincere contrition.

1st. We have seen from Hawkins's statement (the best of all testimony, because he must have received it from Ken himself), that "the Bishop urged the necessity of a full, and *prevailed, as is hoped, for a sincere repentance.*"†

2nd. The Duke of York, the King's brother, tells us, that—

"Two Bishops came to do their function, who reading the prayers appointed in the Common Prayer Book on that occasion, when they came to the place where usually they exhort the sick person to make a confession of his sins, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who was one of them, advertized him it was not of obligation: so after a short exhortation asked him, if he were sorry for his sins? which the King saying he was, the Bishop pronounced absolution, and then asked him, if he pleased to receive the Sacrament? To which he made no reply, and being pressed by the Bishop

* The Visitation of the Sick.—Book of Common Prayer.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 11.

several times, gave no other answer but that it was time enough, or that he would think of it." *

3rd. We have a detailed account of the whole scene in a letter from the Chaplain of the Bishop of Ely, who was in the room. Though not free from the adulation, which then so deeply infected all within the influence of the court, it may be taken as some cumulation of proof. Among other things he says,

"It was a great piece of Providence that this fatal blow was not so sudden as it would have been, if he had died on Monday, when the fit first took him. By these few days' respite he had opportunity (which accordingly he did embrace) of thinking of another world. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, watching on Wednesday night (as my Lord had done the night before) there appearing then some danger, began to discourse with him as a Divine; and therefore he did continue the speaker for the rest to the last, the other Bishops giving their assistance both by prayers and otherwise, as they saw occasion, with very good ejaculations, and short speeches, till his speech quite left him; and afterwards by lifting up his hand, expressing his attention to the prayers." †

4th. The last and most conclusive testimony of the King's penitence is Huddleston's "*Brief Account*" of the King's death. He says,

* Clarke's Life of James II., vol. i. p. 747.

† Ellis's Original Letters, 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 335. See Cole MSS. British Museum, vol. lix. p. 188, for conjectures as to the author of this letter. It is addressed to the Rev. Francis Roper, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; and was found (with another giving an account of the death of James II.) by Dr. Richard Farmer in the cover of an old book. They were communicated by him to the Rev. Mr. Cole, of Milton, who preserved transcripts of them. The signature of one, and part of that of the other, are torn away. We gather from its internal evidence that it was written by the Chaplain of Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely, who was in the room.

“ I was called into the King’s bed-chamber, where approaching to the bed-side and kneeling down, I in brief presented his Majesty with what service I could perform for God’s honour, and the happiness of his soul at this last moment on which eternity depends. The King then declared himself: that he desired to die in the Faith and Communion of the Holy Roman Catholic Church; that he was most heartily sorry for all the sins of his past life, and particularly that he had deferred his reconciliation so long; and through the merits of Christ’s Passion he hoped for Salvation; that he was in charity with all the world; that with all his heart he pardoned his enemies, and desired pardon of all those whom he had anywise offended, and that if it pleased God to spare him longer life, he would amend it, detesting all sin. I then advertized his Majesty of the benefit and necessity of the Sacrament of Penance, which advertizement the King most willingly embracing, made an exact confession of his whole life with exceeding compunction and tenderness of heart; which ended, I desired him, in further sign of repentance and true sorrow for his sins, to say with me this little short act of contrition, ‘ O my Lord God, with my whole heart and soul I detest all the sins of my life past, for the love of Thee, whom I love above all things; and I firmly purpose by Thy Holy Grace never to offend Thee more: Amen, sweet Jesus, Amen. Into thy hands, sweet Jesus, I commend my soul; mercy, sweet Jesus, mercy!’ This he pronounced with a clear and audible voice; which done, and his sacramental penance admitted, I gave him absolution. After receiving the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, and Extreme Unction, he repeated the Act of Contrition, raising himself up, and saying, ‘ let me meet my heavenly Lord in a better posture than in my bed,’ &c., and so he received his Viaticum with all the symptoms of devotion imaginable.” *

* “ Brief Account of Particulars occurring at the happy Death of our late Sovereign Lord, King Charles the Second, in regard to Religion; faithfully related by his then assistant, Jo. Huddleston,” 4to, 1685.

So much for Burnet's first charge: but he goes on to say that "Ken was also censured for another piece of indecency: he presented the Duke of Richmond, Lady Portsmouth's son, to be blessed by the King. Upon this, some that were in the room cried out, the King was their common father. And upon that all kneeled down for his blessing, which he gave them." Again;

"The King recommended Lady Portsmouth over and over again to the Duke: he said he had always loved her, and he loved her now to the last; and besought the Duke in as melting words as he could fetch out to be very kind to her and her son. He recommended his other children to him: and concluded, 'let not poor Nelly starve;' that was Mrs. Gwyn. But he said nothing of the Queen, nor any one word of his people, or of his servants."

And in another part, speaking of the King's insensibility to "the weighty observations made to him by Archbishop Sancroft, and Ken," he says, "of this too visible an instance appeared, since Lady Portsmouth sat on the bed, taking care of him as a wife of a husband."

All the parts of this narrative, as far as they relate to the Queen, and Bishop Ken, and Lady Portsmouth, are the very reverse of the truth.

1st. Hawkins declares that—

"The Dukes of Portsmouth coming into the room, whilst the Bishop was suggesting pious and proper thoughts and ejaculations on so serious an occasion, *Ken prevailed with His Majesty to have her removed*, and took that occasion of representing the injury and injustice done to his Queen so effectually, that His Majesty was induced to send for the

Queen, and asking pardon, had the satisfaction of her forgiveness before he died." *

2nd. The Bishop of Ely's Chaplain says,—

"The first thing the King did, on coming out of his fit, was to ask for the Queen; she had been present with him as long as her extraordinary passion would give her leave; but this at length threw her into fits, and she then being compelled to retire, when the King asked for her, she was obliged to 'send a message to him to excuse her absence, and to beg his pardon, if ever she had offended him in all her life. He replied 'Alas! poor woman, she beg my pardon! I beg hers with all my heart.' " †

3rd. Barillon, the French Ambassador, who was also present, wrote a full account immediately to Louis XIV. He describes the Duchess of Portsmouth's anxiety to have a Roman Catholic Priest sent for, that Charles might be reconciled to the Papal Church;

"'Monsieur Ambassador,' she said to him, 'I am going to tell you the greatest secret in the world, and my head would be in danger, if it was known. The King of England at the bottom of his heart is a Catholic; but he is surrounded with Protestant Bishops, and nobody tells him his condition, nor speaks to him of God. *I cannot with decency enter the room; besides that, the Queen is almost constantly there:* ‡ the

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 11.

† Ellis's Original Letters, 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 337.

‡ Even Oldmixon, who, in his anti-prelatic zeal, elsewhere accuses Ken and others of persecution against Dissenters, bears testimony to his uncompromising conduct throughout this eventful scene: he says, "Mr. Archdeacon assures us the pious non-juring Bishop Ken was so far from suffering the Duchess of Portsmouth to sit in the bed, that he would not let her stay in the room. He prevailed with his Majesty to have her removed. The pious Bishop Ken again induced his Majesty to send for her Majesty, and he asking pardon of her had the satisfaction of her particular forgiveness." Oldmixon's History of England, p. 691.

Duke of York thinks of his own affairs, and has too many of them to take the care he ought of the King's conscience. Go and tell him I have conjured you to warn him to think of what can be done to save the King's soul. He commands the room, and can turn out whom he will: lose no time, for if it is deferred ever so little, it will be too late.'"*

4th. James II., in his notes of the King's death, says he spoke most tenderly of the Queen in his last moments. The Earl of Ailesbury, another personal witness of the scene, writing to Mr. Leigh of Adlestrop, indignantly denies the assertion of Burnet: he calls him "a notorious liar from beginning to end. My good King and master falling upon me in his fit, I ordered him to be blooded, and then I went to fetch the Duke of York, and when we came to the bed-side *we found the Queen there*, and the impostor says it was the Duchess of Portsmouth."†

As to Ken's presenting the Duke of Richmond to be blessed,—it would have been no great "indecentcy," as Burnet calls it, if he had asked the parental blessing on a son (then only thirteen years of age) whose unhappy birth was no fault or crime of his. But it was not the fact; there was no occasion for his doing so. Dr. Turner's Chaplain informs us, that the King

"Recommended to the care of the Duke of York all his children by name, except the Duke of Monmouth, whom he was not heard so much as to make mention of. He blessed all his children one by one, pulling them on the bed: and then the Bishops moved him, as he was the Lord's anointed, and the father of his country, to bless them also, and all that were there present, and in them the whole body of his sub-

* Dalrymple's Memoirs. Appendix to vol. i. p. 95.

† European Magazine, vol. xxvii. p. 22.

jects. Whereupon the room being full, all fell down upon their knees, and he raised himself in his bed, and very solemnly blessed them all. This was so like a great good Prince, and the solemnity of it so very surprising, as was extremely moving, and caused a general lamentation throughout; and no one hears it without being much affected with it, being new and great.”*

We cannot concur in this panegyric on Charles as “a great good Prince,” any more than we admit the justice of Burnet’s opprobrious comparison of him to the “monster Tiberius.” It is certain his death occasioned a general sorrow:† he was an indulgent father, and a kind master; his courteous and easy manners endeared him to the people, who are not usually the most accurate observers of character. In the many vicissitudes of his fortune he lost the opportunities of showing himself to be a great or good man; his vices degraded him into an inglorious King.

* Ellis’s Original Letters, 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 338.

† “Never did I see (says Calamy) so universal a concern as was visible in all men’s countenances, at that time. I was present upon the spot, at the proclaiming King James II. at the upper end of Wood Street, Cheapside (which is one of those places where proclamation is usually made on such occasions), and my heart ached within me at the acclamations made upon that occasion, which, as far as I could observe, were very general; and it is to me a good evidence that all the historians that fall into our hands are to be read with caution, to observe that Bishop Burnet positively affirms, that ‘few tears were shed for King Charles, nor were there any shouts of joy for the present King.’ Whereas I, who was at that time actually present, can bear witness. The Bishop, indeed, who was then abroad, might easily be misinformed; but methinks he should not have been so positive in a matter of that nature, when he was at a distance.” Edmund Calamy’s Own Life, vol. ii. p. 116. See also Macaulay’s History of England, 5th ed., vol. i. p. 442. Burnet’s History of the Reign of James II., by Dr. Routh, 2nd ed., note, p. 6. Life of Isaac Milles, p. 102. Memoirs of James Potenger, 1841, p. 61.

CHAPTER X.

Accession of James II. — Early Measures of the King for the establishment of the Roman Catholic Religion — Ken's first visit to Wells — The Palace at Wells — His Sermon at Whitehall on the character of Daniel — Coronation of James.



BISHOP KEN'S close attendance at the death-bed of Charles, so immediately after his consecration, prevented the completion of the usual forms for his admission to the temporalities of the See, which required the King's sign manual. But as soon as James came to the throne, "new instruments were prepared for that purpose, and he was accordingly in full possession."*

It was a period of difficulty and danger to the Church. Much laxity and indifference prevailed; many of the Clergy were non-resident, ecclesiastical discipline was remiss, and schism abounded. Ken's firmness and circumspection, his courage and meekness, were all tasked to harmonize men's minds, and keep them steadfast to the truth, when it seemed to be endangered by the King's undisguised endeavour to establish Popery. James had long since abjured the Church of England. This was previous to the death † of his first wife, Anne Hyde, who had also embraced

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 12.

† In 1671.

the Romish Faith, probably through his influence. So early as the 30th of March, 1673,

“At the Sermon *coram rege*, preached by Dr. Sparrow, Bishop of Exeter, to a most crouded auditory, I staid,” says Evelyn, “to see whether, according to custom, the Duke of York received the Communion with the King; but he did not, to the amazement of everybody. This being the second year he had forborne, and put it off, and within a day of the Parliament sitting, who had lately made so severe an Act against the encrease of Popery, gave exceeding grief and scandal to the whole nation, that the heir of it, and the son of a martyr for the Protestant religion, should apostatize. What the consequence of this will be, God only knows, and wise men dread.”*

Some years after this (in 1678) Archbishop Sancroft, assisted by Bishop Morley, had an interview with him in his closet, to represent the danger of his secession, and to urge his return to the Church of England. After eulogizing her excellency, and reminding him that he “had been born within her happy pale and communion, and baptized into her holy Faith,” the Archbishop proceeded;

“Your Royal Father, that blessed Martyr of ever glorious memory, who loved her, and knew how to value her, and lost his all in this world for her, even his life too, bequeathed you to her at the last. When he was ready to turn his back on an impious and ungrateful world, and had nothing else now left him but this excellent religion (which he thought not only worth three kingdoms, but ten thousand worlds) he gave that Queen (the Church) in legacy amongst you. For thus he bespake the King your brother, and in him all that

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 82.

were his, words that deserve to be written in letters of gold, and to be engraved in brass or marble; 'If you never see my face again, I require and entreat you, as your father, and as your King, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check or dissatisfaction from the true religion established in the Church of England. I tell you I have tried it, and after much search, and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world.'”*

But it was all in vain: James replied to the Bishops that he also had taken all the pains he could to examine the grounds of his religious faith, that he had not made the change hastily, or without foresight of the inconveniences that must ensue to him from it; and dismissed them without any real discussion of the points which they had urged.

Immediately on the death of his brother he “proceeded to the Council, and promised to maintain the Government both in Church and State as by law established, its principles being so firm for monarchy, and its members showing themselves so good and loyal subjects.”† His accession had been greeted with the acclamations of the people, who vainly trusted to his promises of tenderness for the Church of England; but these hopes were soon to be disappointed. Suspicion already began to obscure the sunshine of popularity which generally beams on a new reign. His joining openly in the celebration of the mass within eight days after he came to the throne, his encouragement of Roman Priests and Jesuits, and the immediate choice of Papists to offices of trust in Ireland, betrayed his

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, 2nd edit. pp. 97 to 106.

† Evelyn's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 207.

design to overthrow the Anglican faith. Religion thus became a fresh cause of violent controversy and faction. Instead of endeavouring to cement the affections of his subjects through a common ritual, he had resolved to substitute his own will for the constituted laws, and to reduce the spiritual interests of the kingdom to the rule of a foreign Pontiff. Blinded by his own views, he could not estimate the unchangeable purpose of the whole nation to maintain the reformed religion. In this unequal contest he was prepared to risk his throne, placing his whole reliance on the questionable fidelity of his army; his only other support being a few Roman Catholic noblemen, and a band of Jesuits, outrunning in zeal even the Papal Court itself.

The day after the death of Charles, the Archbishop and the few Bishops who were in town (of whom Ken was one), waited upon James with a loyal address of thanks for his promise of favour and support to the Church. They said,

“ In that most auspicious moment in which you first sat down in the chair, to which God and your right have advanced you, you were pleased in our favour to make that admirable declaration, which we ought to write down in letters of gold, and engrave in marble. However, we shall treasure it up in our hearts as the greatest foundation of comfort which this world can afford us in our present condition. So that we have nothing to ask your Majesty, but that you would be (what you have always been observed to be) yourself; that is, generous and just, and true to all you once declare.” *

* Appendix to Letters of Henry, Earl of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 276. The original draft in Sancroft's handwriting is in the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian, vol. xxxii. fol. 214.

But we must follow Bishop Ken to Wells, that we may witness his introduction to the Diocese. The first dedication of himself in the cathedral was an event of deep interest to all. It must have been a solemn and impressive scene, when, preceded by his Clergy, he entered the western doors amidst the crowds of people, anxious to catch a glimpse of their future Bishop. We may well imagine his feelings of awe and reverence, of gratitude and humiliation, as he raised his eyes to the vaulted roof of that beautiful temple, henceforward to be the centre of his pastoral duties; and still more when he was conducted to the episcopal throne. In dedicating his Hymnarium to Bishop Hooper, his second successor in the See, he thus expresses the feelings of that moment:

“ Among the Herdmen, I a common swain,
Liv'd pleas'd with my low cottage on the plain;
Till up, like Amos, on a sudden caught,
I to the Past'ral Chair was trembling brought.”

The Palace at Wells, even to this day, retains much of its former character. It stands in the midst of a garden, surrounded by a once fortified wall, at the foot of which is a fountain of the purest water, that bursts from St. Andrew's well, and passing round the palace flows through the town. A high terraced walk, within the ramparts, overlooks the garden and palace; without are meadows extending to the foot of the Mendip hills. The noble cathedral, close at hand, glowing in all the varied richness of Christian art, is seen through the mullioned windows of the great banqueting hall, which has long been dismantled. This hall had witnessed the trial and condemnation of Whiting, the

courageous Abbot of Glastonbury, who suffered martyrdom rather than betray the trusts of his Abbey,—an ancient, and once splendid monument of the wealth and devotion of the Church, now a picturesque and noble ruin. At each end of the terrace walk is a stone grotto, formed in the angles of the rampart, and covered with ivy. Over the entrance of one of these is an inscription from Horace, cut into a stone tablet ;

“ ILLE TERRARUM MIHI PRÆTER OMNES
ANGULUS RIDET,” &c. &c.—Lib. ii. Od. 6.

The quietude of the scene, these well-known lines, and the similarity of tastes between two holy men, who amid the deeper thoughts of their learning and piety did not refuse to delight themselves in the works of the Roman Lyrist, recall to mind a passage in the life of Hooker. “ His former pupils, Edwin Sandys, and George Cranmer, took a journey to Draiton Beauchamp to see their tutor, and found him with a book in his hand (it was the Odes of Horace), he being then like humble and innocent Abel, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field.”* No less humble and innocent was Bishop Ken, though living in a palace ; and no less fond of the Odes of Horace, a few of which he imitated in a Christian vein, and one, the “ *Quem tu Melpomene semel*,”† in an animated and pleasing manner. Both are bright ornaments of the English Church, hallowed to our remembrance by the purity of their lives, and the undying worth of the writings they have bequeathed to us.

* Walton's Life of Richard Hooker.

† Ken's Poems, vol. iv. pp. 528 and 534.

There Ken might walk, and read, and meditate, and mature his plans for the welfare of his people. There too, not long after, he decided on the courageous stand to be made, first against a Roman Catholic when he invaded the rights of the Church, and then against a Protestant King whom he looked upon as a usurper. Under both trials he was ready to sacrifice, and at length did yield up, not this garden of pleasures only, but all he had or hoped for on earth, rather than betray his principles. This grotto, we may be sure, was the silent witness of his frequent and fervent aspirations to the heavenly throne. If those yews, and ivy-grown walls, could give utterance, what holy thoughts, and prayers, and hymns, probably sung to his lute, would they record.

These were the tranquil scenes of his literary labours, which at once began to employ his pen in the service of the Church. The press already teemed with controversy between the communions of England and Rome. We may derive some notion of the height this had reached from the mere titles of discourses, to be found in any of the numerous collections of tracts of that time, which are still extant. We may take as a specimen the contents of one out of nineteen quarto volumes in a private collection :

“ A Papist Mis-Represented and Represented, or a two-fold Character of Popery, &c. 1686. The Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome truly Represented: in Answer to a Papist Mis-Represented, &c. 1686. Reflexions upon the Answer to the Papist, directed to the Answerer. 1686. A Papist Not Mis-Represented by Protestants, being a Reply to the Reflexions, &c. 1686. Papists Protesting

against Protestant Popery, in Answer, &c., being a Vindication of the Papists Mis-Represented. 1686. An Answer to a Discourse entitled Papists Protesting, &c., containing an Examination of the Exposition of the Invocation of Saints and Worship of Images. 1686. An Amicable Accommodation of the Difference between the Representer and the Answerer, &c. 1686. An Answer to the Amicable Accommodation, &c. 1686. A Reply to the Answer, &c. &c. 1686. A View of the whole Controversy between the Representer and the Answerer, in which are laid open some of the Methods by which Protestants are Mis-Represented. 1687. The Papists Mis-Represented and Represented. 3rd part. 1687. An Answer to the Representer's Reflections upon the State and View of the Controversy, showing the Vindication has utterly ruined the New design of expounding Popery. 1687.*

But there is no where to be found any one controversial tract by Bishop Ken: disputation was not his element. In the pulpit he did not shrink from faithfully explaining and enforcing the doctrines of the English Church, as distinguished from the errors of Rome, especially when the King's design became more apparent. In this sphere he discoursed most eloquently; but he never stepped beyond it: his peaceful spirit was unfitted for the strife of controversy. Whilst others were engaged "in Pleas, and Answers, and Reflections on Answers, Differences of Cases, Remonstrances, and Vindications," he set himself in the first year of his Episcopate to prepare the work which exalts his name in the rank of English Divines: "AN EXPOSITION OF THE CHURCH CATECHISM, or the

* See also "The Catalogue of all the Discourses published against Popery during the Reign of James II." 1689. 4to. It contains nearly two hundred.

Practice of Divine Love." In this he seems to expatiate in unbounded love to God and man. Let the Christian reader, in his retirement, open it at any page; he will see a devout soul kneeling at the feet of Jesus, as if in the enjoyment of a glimpse of Heaven, and yearning after celestial light, and love, and glory: he will hardly refrain from kneeling by his side, to breathe with him the spirit of his prayers.

But ere the work could be committed to the press he was summoned to preach his Lent sermon before the Court at Whitehall. According to the London Gazette it was on Sunday, the 8th of March, 1685. A few days prior to this, Evelyn, "to his grief, saw the new pulpit set up in the Popish Oratory at Whitehall for the Lent preaching, mafs being publickly said, and the Romanists swarming at Court with greater confidence than had ever been since the Reformation; so that every body grew jealous to what this would tend."* The King, therefore, was not present to hear the sermon: but his daughter, the Princess of Denmark (afterwards Queen Anne) attended, with many of the nobility: "She sat on the left hand of the King's chair in the gallery, the Clerk of the Closet standing on the other side, as if his Majesty had been there:" a special order had been given that the preacher should make "three congées, instead of one only,"† as they had been used to do.

The Bishop chose for his subject the character of Daniel,‡ on which he enlarged with a glowing elo-

* Diary, vol. ii. p. 212.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 219.

‡ "O Daniel, a man greatly beloved."—Dan. x. 11.

quence, not often furpassed, and which makes us regret that only three of his Sermons have been preserved. He presents Daniel as an example worthy the imitation of the assembled courtiers; as one who, in the midst of an unbelieving, luxurious, and corrupt court, maintained the worship of the true God, a holy self-denial, and an immoveable integrity;

“ If it shall appear that *Daniel* was not of the sacerdotal, but regal line: if it shall appear that he was a Courtier, and not only a Courtier, but a Favourite; and not only a Courtier and a Favourite, but a Minister too; such a Courtier, and Favourite, and Minister, as no age can parallel: if to the Courtier, Favourite, and Minister, he added the Ascetic and the Saint: if in all these respects he was, as the margin literally renders it, *a man of desires*, or, according to the Hebrew idiom, *a man greatly beloved* both by God and man: if from these materials I form such an idea, which shall be proportion'd to your imitation, and shew you *Daniel's* secret, that every one of you may skill the art to become *greatly beloved* like him; I hope you will be reconciled to the subject I have chosen, as not being unsuitable to this Penitential Season, as not being improper for this august assembly, whose edification is both my duty and design.”

After describing Daniel's extraordinary endowments and virtues, which made him a man *greatly beloved* under three monarchies, by Kings, and the people too, he proceeds;

“ And yet, for *Daniel* to be the darling of so many mighty Kings, and of so many mighty Kingdoms, was infinitely short of that incomparable felicity he had,—to be the peculiar *Favourite* of Heaven; in which respect he was most eminently *the man greatly beloved*. For, if to receive the greatest favours from God that mortal man is capable of receiving, be

an argument of God's Love, then was *Daniel belov'd, greatly belov'd by God.*

“ It was this *Love* of God which made His greatly *belov'd Daniel* prosperous in adversity,—that gave him freedom in captivity, friendship among enemies, safety among infidels, victory over his conquerors, and all the privileges of a native in strange countries : it was this *Love* of God that gave His *greatly belov'd* knowledge and skill in all learning, and wisdom, and understanding in all visions and dreams. It was this *Love* of God that delivered him in dangers from the conspiracy and malice of the *Median* Princes, and from the fury of the Lions :—that sent one angel into the den to stop their mouths ; and another angel, at another time, to bring a prophet on purpose to feed him :—that signally revenged him of his enemies, and did by a miracle vindicate his integrity. It was the *Love* of God that sent the angel *Gabriel* to visit him, to be his interpreter, to strengthen, and comfort, and encourage him ; to reveal secrets to him, and to assure him that his prayers were heard. It was the *Love* of God which gave him the spirit of prophecy, that excellent spirit, that spirit of the Holy God, as the *Babylonians* stil'd it, by which he foretold the rise and period of the Four Monarchies, the return of the Captivity, and wrote long beforehand the affairs of future ages.

“ But beyond all this, it was the Love of God that presented him with a clearer landskip of the Gospel than any other prophet ever had : he was the *beloved Prophet* under the *Old* dispensation, as *John* was the *beloved Disciple* under the *New* ; and both being animated with the same divine Love, there was a wonderful harmony between them. Both of them had miraculous preservations, one from the Lions, the other from the boiling Cauldron ; both engaged young in the service of God, and consecrated their lives by an early piety, and both lived to a great and equal age, to about an hundred years ; both had the like intimacy with God, the like admittance into the most adorable mysteries, and the like abundance

of heavenly visions ; both had the like lofty flights and ecstatic Revelations. Read what Daniel saw of the Ancient of days, and of His throne, and of the angels His attendants, and you must needs say that his visions in this life were next to beatific. His prophecies of the Messias, of the precise time of His coming, and of His cutting off ; of the destruction of Jerusalem, and of Antichrist ; of the Son of man, and of the universality and perpetuity of His kingdom, the Church Catholic ; of the Day of Judgment, of the Resurrection, of Heaven and of Hell,—were so literally fulfill'd in the Gospel, and so legible there, and all his predictions so express, and full, and particular, that for this very reason his writings were questioned by both the Gentiles and the Jews, because they looked more like the history of things past than a prophecy of things to come. But the Jews' own Historian esteemed Daniel one of the greatest prophets for the same reason for which others unjustly reproach him. The Mouth of Truth, our blessed Saviour, has declar'd *Daniel a Prophet* ;* and the greater clearness his Prophecies have, the more likely they are to be wrote by Daniel ; who, the more greatly he was beloved, the greater were the communications of divine Love to him, and the greater by consequence were his illuminations.

“ All these wonderful vouchsafements from above to Daniel, though they were most illustrious demonstrations that he was *greatly beloved*, yet they were indulged him for the sake of others, as well as for his own : there is, therefore, one more illustrious than all these, and that is a favour which God bestows on but very few, and on none but great saints, who are *dearly beloved* ; and not usually on them, till near their death, and is the very top blessing of which man is capable in this life, the highest bliss on this side Heaven ;—and that is an absolute assurance of a Glorious Immortality ; and such an assurance as this had the *beloved Daniel* :—for the angel having discours'd to him of the resurrection of those that sleep

* Matt. xxiv. 15.

in the dust, and of their awaking to everlasting life, adds, Go thy way till the end be: for thou shalt rest, and stand in the lot at the end of the days.* O the unutterable felicity of *this man, thus greatly beloved by God!* Whilst the generality of faints sigh under their flesh and blood, which clogs, and loads, and depresses them; whilst the penitent are still begging their pardon, and the humble full of fears and misgivings by reason of their numerous failings; whilst the best of them all see Heaven only through a glass darkly, and at a distance, and can reach no higher in this world than hope, and desire, and reliance on God's promise, and patient expectation,—Daniel, the man greatly beloved, has an angel sent on purpose by God, to assure him of his lot in a Glorious Eternity, and that his mansion there was prepar'd and brighten'd to receive him. And yet this is not all;—Daniel was not only assur'd of future glory, but of a *greater* degree of glory than others had: for, having made it his great business here below to love God himself, and *greatly* to love Him, and to excite others to love God as greatly as he lov'd Him, he was to have a more sublime exaltation in bliss than ordinary; the greater his love was, the nearer was he to be seated to the Throne of God, his Beloved; and having *turn'd many to righteousness, he was to shine as the stars for ever and ever.*

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- * “Dark frown'd the future even on him,
 The loving and beloved Seer,
 What time he saw, thro' shadows dim,
 The boundary of th' eternal year;
 He only of the sons of men
 Nam'd to be heir of glory then.
 Else it had bruise'd too sore his tender heart
 To see GOD's ransom'd world in wrath and flame depart.”

CHRISTIAN YEAR: Thursday before Easter,—where Mr. KEBLE, in a note, refers to this Sermon on the character of Daniel. I have endeavoured to shorten these extracts; but found that, in doing so, I must omit some essential features of the portraiture of the Prophet, thus vividly drawn by the Bishop. The form and beauty of the passages will be my justification, and perhaps direct the reader to the perusal of the whole sermon.

“ If, then, you would learn Daniel’s secret, that powerful inflammative and preservative of Love, which Daniel had, and which made him, according to the text, understood in a passive sense, a man *greatly beloved*: take the very same expression in an active sense, and then you have it; *he did greatly love, and therefore he was greatly beloved*: that was all the Court-cunning, all the Philtre that Daniel had. It is *Love that most naturally attracts Love*; and from this love he is called a *man of desires*;—of desires for the glory of God, and for the welfare of the King and people:—still I am short;—he was a man *full of desires*; so full, that he was made up of desires—he was all desires; for so the original emphatically styles him, *Thou art desires*.

“ You have now seen how love was reciprocal, how Daniel greatly lov’d God, the King, and the People: and this was the secret he had, which naturally attracted so universal a love: a secret which is neither too mysterious for your comprehension, nor too heroic for your imitation: a secret of a certain and approv’d virtue. For goodness is awful and amiable to all mankind, and has charms that are irresistible. There is a powerful sweetness, a propitious obligingness, and such effusions and radiations of divinity in it, as command our affections, and are able to overcome all our aversions; and I am confident that there is no one here but, if he would make the experiment, would find a proportionable success. Let me then exhort you, let me beseech you to consider all the attractives of the *Divine Love*, till God’s sovereign love inflame you, and you habitually breathe His praises. Learn like Daniel, humility by affliction, purity by temperance; to keep your graces alive by prayer, and by frequenting your Oratory; to subdue rebellious nature by fasting and mortifications. Learn from Daniel a universal obligingness and benignity, an awful love to your Prince, a constant fidelity, an undaunted courage, an unwearied zeal in serving him. Learn from Daniel an equal mixture of the wisdom of the serpent, and of the innocence of the dove, an inoffensive conversation,

a clean integrity, and an impartial justice to all within your sphere. Learn from the *Man greatly beloved* to reconcile policy and religion, business and devotion, abstinence and abundance, greatness and goodness, magnanimity and humility, power and subjection, authority and affability, conversation and retirement, interest and integrity, Heaven and the Court, the favour of God and the favour of the King ;—and you are masters of Daniel's secret ; you will secure yourselves an universal and lasting interest ; you will, like him, be greatly beloved both by God and man. For when we have in vain tried all other methods, there is nothing stable but virtue ; nothing that can keep us steady in all resolutions but the LOVE OF GOD," &c.

And then follows a noble and matchless burst of eulogy upon this, his favourite, theme, hardly to be equalled even in his own writings, but which must be here omitted for want of space. The sermon being specially appointed for the season of Lent, he did not neglect the occasion to urge upon his hearers the duty of observing the rule of the Church in abstaining from their self-indulgence, at least on the appointed days, and especially in Lent :

" I mention," he says, " this example of Daniel, to show what the ancients thought Fasting, and how they kept Lent : I do not exhort you to follow them any further than either our climate or our constitutions will bear ; but we may easily follow Daniel in abstaining from wine, and from the more pleasurable meats ; and such an abstinence as this, with such a mourning for our own sins, and the sins of others, is the proper exercise of a Primitive Spirit during all the weeks of Lent. For what is Lent, in its original institution, but a spiritual conflict to subdue the flesh to the spirit, to beat down our bodies, and to bring them into subjection ? What is it but a penitential martyrdom for so many weeks together,

which we suffer for our own and others' sins? A devout soul, that is able to observe it, fastens himself to the Cross on *Wednesday*, and hangs crucify'd by contrition all the *Lent* long; that having felt in his closet the burthen and the anguish, the Nails and the Thorns, and tasted the Gall of his own sins, he may by his own Crucifixion be better disposed to be crucify'd with Christ on *Good-Friday*, and most tenderly to sympathize with all the Dolours, and Pressures, and Anguish, and Torments, and Desertion, Infinite, Unknown, and Un-speakable, which God Incarnate endured, when He bled upon the Cross for the sins of the world; that being purify'd by repentance, and made conformable to Christ Crucify'd, he may offer up a pure oblation at *Easter*, and feel the power, and the joys, and the triumph of his Saviour's Resurrection."

Not long after this Ken was again summoned from Wells to assist at the Coronation of James, which took place on the 23rd of April, being St. George's day. Archbishop Sancroft received the King's commands to attend, and perform such services as should be required; he was to send circular letters to the respective Bishops of his Province, enjoining them to be present.* Among the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian are the original drafts,† in Sancroft's handwriting, of the intended service, which he had no small difficulty in framing to suit the King's conscience. After various alterations, the order of proceeding was settled under a warrant from the King. The Holy Communion had always formed part of the Coronation service; but this was omitted‡ on the present occa-

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, edit. 1840, p. 126.

† Tanner MSS., vol. xxxi.

‡ "It has been stated that Archbishop Sancroft afterwards reproached himself for consenting to this omission, and that the circumstance lay

fion, James being unable, as a Papist,* to receive it in the Anglican form. He selected Ken, although the junior Bishop, to walk by his side, under the canopy of state,† in the procession from Westminster Hall, and to be his supporter on the steps of the throne during the ceremonies in the Abbey.‡ His friend, Francis Turner,§ Bishop of Ely, was appointed to preach the Coronation sermon, a service which afterwards bound him with additional ties to the cause of James after he was dethroned.|| Thus we see the two poor Winchester scholars brought to great emi-

heavy on his spirits." D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, p. 127, on the authority of Salmon's *Lives of English Bishops*, p. 96.

* Subsequent to this, he struck out the word "*true*" before the word "*Religion*," in the Service for the 29th of May, the day of the Restoration. See Tanner MSS., vol. xxxi. fol. 54.

† Among the engravings in Sandford's elaborate and highly ornamented work of the Coronation, fol., 1687, is one representing the King and his attendants in procession; the countenance of Ken appears to be a correct likeness when compared with other engraved portraits of him.

‡ People were struck by the King's demeanour throughout the august ceremonial, contrasted, as it was, with the seriousness and humility of the Queen: "she answered all the responses, but he never moved his lips: she expressed great devotion, but he little or none; often looking about, as unconcerned. When she was anointed and crowned, I never saw greater devotion in any countenance." Bishop Patrick's *Autobiography*, 12mo, 1839, p. 105.

§ Evelyn mentions Turner as a good preacher in the former reign, and we shall see afterwards that he was a distinguished speaker in the House of Lords; "Dr. Turner, now translated from Rochester to Ely upon the death of Dr. Peter Gunning, preached before the King at Whitehall, on Romans iii. 8, a very excellent sermon, vindicating the Church of England against the pernicious doctrines of the Church of Rome. He challenged the producing but of five clergymen who forsook our Church and went over to that of Rome, during all the troubles and rebellions in England, which lasted near twenty years; and this was, to my certain observation, a great truth." Evelyn's *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 200.


|| *Life of Kettlewell*, 8vo, 1718, p. 430.

nence, both men of serious lives, who esteemed a holy retirement above all the parade of courts, yet sought out by the King, as worthy of the highest marks of favour he could bestow.

Shortly after, James opened Parliament with a speech, in which he promised to support and defend the Church of England, and the people seemed disposed to rely on his pledges. The Commons, by unanimous vote, settled upon him during his life the revenues enjoyed by the late King. The Speaker, in presenting the Bill for the Royal assent, expressed the satisfaction of the House in his "Majesty's gracious and sacred word, repeated declarations, and assurance to support and defend the religion of the Church of England, as is now by law established: and we humbly beseech your Majesty to accept this revenue, and along with it our hearty prayers, that God Almighty would bless you with a long life and happy reign to enjoy it." The King thanked them very heartily for the Bill, declaring that their readiness and cheerfulness in the dispatch of it was as acceptable to him as the Bill itself: and that he could not express his thoughts more suitably than by assuring them he had "a true English heart, as jealous of the honour of the nation as you can be; and I please myself with the hopes that, by God's blessing, and your assistance, I may carry the reputation of it yet higher in the world than ever it has been in the time of any of my ancestors."

CHAPTER XI.

The Duke of Monmouth; his life and character—Invades England—Lands in the West of England—Defeated in the battle of Sedgemoor—Cruelties of Lord Feversham, and Colonel Kirke—Ken's appeal to the King on behalf of the prisoners—Monmouth condemned to death—Ken attends him on the scaffold.

 IN the midst of this interchange of civilities between the King and Parliament, intelligence arrived that the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of the late King, had landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, and set up the standard of rebellion in the western counties. The Parliament immediately passed a Bill of attainder against him, offered a reward of 5,000*l.* to any who should bring him in, and having voted 400,000*l.* to the King for the present emergency, both Houses adjourned on the 2nd of July, the members being dismissed to their several counties, where their presence was required to encourage the loyal, and control the disaffected. Ken was present in the House of Lords on this occasion ;* but within

* It does not appear that Ken ever spoke in the House of Lords. After this prorogation James never assembled the Parliament again, except for a few days in August and November following. On the last occasion Compton, Bishop of London, spoke against the employment of Popish officers, and declared that he expressed, not only his own sentiments, but those of his brethren.

a few days after we find him in his Diocese, a messenger of charity amidst the din of war, raised by the invasion.

This period of Monmouth's history forcibly illustrates the Bishop's character in two particulars,—his compassion for sufferers, and his steadfastness in carrying out the injunctions of the Church, even when his benevolent feelings would have prompted him to relax the strictness of her rule. It is, therefore, necessary to enter into a brief review of Monmouth's eventful life. He was the eldest son of Charles II., born at Rotterdam during the King's exile. He first went by the name of James Crofts, received his education at Paris under the care of Henrietta Maria, and was brought up a Roman Catholic. At the age of fourteen, soon after the Restoration, the King sent for him to Court, provided him a stately equipage, appointed for his use apartments in the Privy Gallery at Whitehall, and by warrant authorized him to bear the royal arms of England and France. He caused him also to be reconciled to the English Church.

He was a youth of lovely form and countenance, perfected in all the graces and accomplishments of the Court, and so great a favourite with the King, that for many years he lavished upon him every honour and endearment that an over-indulgent parent could bestow. Having already created him a Peer of Parliament, and a Knight of the Garter, before he was eighteen years old, he secured for him in marriage the richest heiress of the kingdom, the beautiful Countess of Buccleuch, then only sixteen years of age. The mere list of his titles and offices would suffice to

show the entire devotion of the King's heart to this Abfalom of his houfe.*

Charles feemed to delight in his fociety:—wherever he went Monmouth was his chosen companion, or if he fent him occasionally to ferve in the French army, he was everywhere received with the honours due to royalty. The Diaries of Evelyn and Pepys abound with notices of the over-weening attachment of his father, who feemed to love him for his very faults. Thefe were indeed too like his own; for he was a profligate youth, owning no law but his own will. Pepys fays, “the little Duke of Monmouth is ordered to take place of all Dukes, and fo follow Prince Rupert, before the Duke of Buckingham or any elfe:”—“the King fo fond of the Duke of M. that everybody admires it: and the Duke fays he would be the death of any man, who fays the King was not married to his mother:”—“the Duke of Monmouth fpend his time moft viciously and idly of any man, nor will be fit for any thing: yet fpeaks confidently of his mother having been married to the King:” “talk of the D. of Monmouth being made Prince of Wales not true:” &c. &c.

We cannot wonder that the King's brother fhould be alarmed at fuch indications of an ill-regulated par-

* Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch, Earl of Doncafter and Dalkeith, Lord Scott of Tindale, Whitchefter, and Afhdale. Lord Great Chamberlain of Scotland, Lord Lieutenant of the Eaft Riding of Yorkfhire, Governor of Kingfton-upon-Hull, Chief Juftice in Eyre of all the Forests, Chafes, Parks, and Warrens fouth of the River Trent, Lord General of all the King's Land Forces, Captain of the Life Guards of Horfe, Chancellor of the Univerfity of Cambridge, Mafter of the Horfe, and Lord of the Privy Council, &c.

tiality; and the more so because Monmouth, grown bold by indulgence, began openly to aspire to the succession, aiming at popularity as "the Protestant Duke," and lending himself to the Whig party, whose aim was to exclude James from the throne as a "Popish Recufant." We may pass over the details of these feuds, which have afforded to political writers so fertile a theme of mutual recrimination. One thing is certain, that Monmouth's sagacity and presence of mind were unequal to his ambition: his folly was exceeded only by his moral cowardice, and ingratitude: he became a tool in the hands of Shaftesbury,* and others, who were engaged in designs against his father's Government.

The King, being now aware of his dangerous views, and to prevent any future dispute concerning the succession, entered with his own hand in the Council book a declaration, "as in the presence of Almighty God, that he never gave, nor made, any contract of marriage whatsoever, but to her present Majesty Queen Catherine, now living." This was attested by sixteen Privy Counsellors. He afterwards caused a like declaration to be enrolled in Chancery, especially disclaiming, "on the word of a king, and the faith of a Christian, that he was ever married to Mrs. Barlow, alias Walters, the Duke of Monmouth's mother."†

* Reresby's Memoirs, p. 95.

† A Letter to a Person of Honour concerning the King's disavowing, &c. Somers's Tracts, vol. i. p. 82. Six months afterwards finding the same rumour of this marriage "spread abroad with great industry and malice," the King published his Declarations in the Lon-

As a further satisfaction to James, Monmouth was banished for a while to Holland: but returning shortly after without leave, he made a public progress through the west of England, every where exciting the people against his uncle. One of his panegyrists describes that, in his march through Somersetshire, "he was caressed with the joyful acclamations of the country people, who came from all parts twenty miles about, the lanes and hedges being every where lined with men, women, and children, who with incessant shouts cried 'God bless King Charles, and the Protestant Duke.'" In many towns and parishes "they strewed the streets and highways, where he was to pass, with herbs and flowers."* In some places he was attended by a concourse of 2,000 persons on horseback, and in others, as on his approach to Exeter, he was met by the citizens and the people of all the adjacent parts, to the number of 20,000. On another occasion, "as he entered Chester with his whole train, the flaming piles wherewith the streets were enlightened, and the harmonious noise from the several steeples, loudly proclaimed his welcome, and the extraordinary joy the people conceived for his Grace's presence among them."†

In this manner he continued, for three years, to be the rallying point of all the disaffected, endeavouring

don Gazette of June 7th to 10th, 1680. See also Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 229, for an account of this wretched courtesan. He calls Monmouth "this Perkin, who had been made to believe that the King had married her; a monstrous and ridiculous forgery!"

* Heroick Life, and Magnanimous Actions of the most Illustrious Prince, James Duke of Monmouth. London, 12mo, 1683, p. 101.

† Ibid. p. 127.

to render the King's government odious, and forgetful of every tie that should bind a son to the fondest of fathers. The King long forbore any proceedings against him: but in June, 1683, he was arrested at Stafford by a Serjeant at Arms, under a warrant from the King, declaring that "James Duke of Monmouth hath lately appeared in several parts of this kingdom with great numbers of people in a riotous and unlawful manner, to the disturbance of the public peace, and the terrour of His Majesty's good subjects: these are therefore to command you forthwith to apprehend the said Duke of Monmouth," &c.

At length the Whig faction, being disappointed in all their endeavours to undermine the Government, entered into a rash conspiracy, known as the Rye House Plot, for which William Lord Russell, and Algernon Sidney suffered death. The merits of that popular nobleman, and the truth or falsehood of the treasonable part of the charge against him and his associates, have been often and variously discussed. If we cannot concur in Mr. Fox's judgment, that "their attempt to deliver their country from the dreadful servitude into which it had fallen was clearly laudable," we assent to his opinion, that the condemnation (in the manner of it), and therefore the execution of Russell, "was a violation of law and justice." There was something truly English in his general character; but his factious spirit carried him into guilty extremes. We can never forget his joining in the cruel, and relentless persecution of the aged Lord Stafford, found guilty of high treason on the testimony of the perjured Oates, and his associates. Russell's death was so

Christian and brave, that few characters in the range of our history have met with more honour, to which the admirable character and letters of his wife, Lady Rachel Russell, have greatly contributed. It was, no doubt, an ardent love of liberty which prompted him to embark in this futile conspiracy against a government, so firmly established that any momentary success must have ended in wide spread suffering, and severe retribution. He committed himself to associates, few of whom had any of his virtues, and therefore few deserved his confidence: most of them proved to be mean, unprincipled cowards, and either fled, or gave evidence against him. His headlong party-spirit overmastered the forethought and circumspection, so indispensable in all difficult enterprizes. The resources at his command were altogether unequal to the end proposed. We may, therefore, believe that he had no genius to realize the aspirations of a fervid mind. The only evidence we have of real greatness of character is the heroic calmness of his death, which was worthy of all praise.

Various opinions must ever continue to exist as to the merits of Russell and Sidney, but for the conduct of Monmouth in this plot against his father not a word of extenuation can be offered: it bears the deep dye of ingratitude. The King did not doubt that he had entertained the design of his assassination; for he proclaimed him a traitor, offered 500*l.* reward for his seizure, and in a declaration, which was read in every Church throughout the land, he deliberately charged this son of his affection with having joined in a "treasonable conspiracy against his sacred person and

government." And now he showed, by his treacherous and craven conduct how unworthy he was of the confidence of any man.

Though it is impossible to justify their acts, we may believe that a deep sense of the dangers which threatened the Protestant religion, and the liberties of England, impelled Russell and Sidney to join in the conspiracy. But his own selfish projects were the only impulse of Monmouth's mind. No sooner did he see them frustrated than he hastened to secure his own safety by unmanly disclosures against his friends. He wrote a submissive letter to the King, confessing his guilt, and declaring "if ever again he did any thing against the Duke of York, he would never ask to see the King's face again, which was the greatest curse he could lay on himself." He was admitted to an audience, fell on his knees before the King and the Duke, and implored their pardon: he even demeaned himself to write, at their dictation, the letter which proves him to have been a rebel against his father, and has for ever stamped him a traitor to his own associates:

"I have heard" (thus he writes to the King) "some reports of me, as if I should have lessened the late Plot, and gone about to discredit the evidence given against those who have died by justice. Your Majesty and the Duke know how ingenuously I have owned the late conspiracy; and though I am not conscious of a design against your Majesty's life, yet I lament the having had so great a share in the other part of the said conspiracy. Sir, I have taken the liberty to put this in writing for my own vindication; and I beseech you to look forward, and endeavour to forget the faults you have forgiven me. I will take care never to commit any more

againſt you, or come within the danger of being again miſſed from my duty; but make it the buſineſs of my life to deſerve the pardon your Maſteſty hath granted to

“ Your dutiful

“ MONMOUTH.”*

He was quickly made ſenſible of the diſgrace into which he had plunged himſelf by this betrayal of his accomplices. Repenting this poor act of repentance, he went to the King, and earneſtly implored him to return the paper, which “ he thought was a diminution of his honor.” His father answered that he would not keep it againſt his will; but warned him not to recall what alone could teſtify the ſincerity of his ſorrow. He perſiſted in his requeſt; and Charles gave him back his letter. But no ſooner had Monmouth got poſſeſſion of the paper, than *he denied having ever made any acknowledgment of guilt*, thus preſenting himſelf to friends and foes a ſtrange ſpectacle of alternate rebellion, meaneſs, and falſehood. The King baniſhed him for ever from his preſence: thus he incurred the penalty which he had declared would be “ the greateſt curſe he could lay upon himſelf,” for he retired again to Holland, and ſaw his father’s face no more.

It has been aſſerted that Charles ſo far relented as to ſupply him with money, and to correſpond with him; and that, juſt before his own fatal illneſs, being unable to endure Monmouth’s abſence, he meditated his recall. If this were ſo, it would only mark more

* Life, Progreſſes, and Rebellion of James, Duke of Monmouth, by George Roberts, 1844, vol. i. p. 172.

emphatically the ingratitude of the son, who could plot against so affectionate a father. The fact receives some confirmation from the flattering attentions paid to him by the Prince and Princess of Orange at the Hague, during the lifetime of the King, who would be gratified by this indulgence. The active part which Monmouth had taken against the Roman Catholic Duke might enhance his claim to the favour of the Protestant Stadtholder. But no sooner did the news of Charles's death reach Holland, than all things wore a different aspect at the Dutch Court. The Prince found it more to his own interests to treat this avowed enemy of the new King with a prudent reserve.

James II. in his Memoirs, would have it believed that the Prince desired to foment the quarrel between him and Monmouth, one a Pretender to the throne, the other in possession,

“And whichever got the better would equally advantage his pretensions. If the Duke of Monmouth [who was illegitimate] succeeded, it would be easy for William, that was a Protestant as well as he, and in right of his wife the next heir, to shove him off the saddle. If on the contrary the Duke of Monmouth was worsted, he got rid of a dangerous rival; and was sure all his party would have recourse to him. This made him, underhand, do all he could to inflame the young man's fury and ambition; and send him out like a victim to the slaughter, playing a sure game himself, to whomsoever fortune should give the advantage.”*

There appears no ground whatever for this grave accusation.

* Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 25.

As soon as James came to the throne he made application to the Prince of Orange, through his envoy at the Hague, to have Monmouth secured and sent to England, before he could form any dangerous designs. William was incapable of such an act of treachery, even had it suited his plans. He recommended Monmouth to leave Holland, where he could no longer protect him, and gave him money to carry him to Brussels. Here, however, he was still pursued by the King's watchful jealousy; and the Spanish Governor of the Netherlands ordered him to leave. He could not take refuge in France; for James was already the pensioner and close ally of Louis. Thus in dread of arrest whichever way he turned, urged by Argyle, Lord Grey, and other refugees and malcontents, Monmouth was impelled, against his own judgment, to precipitate his plans, and make a descent on England, before (as was supposed) the new King could mature his power. He had, however, no chance of success in the present good understanding between the King and his Parliament; but ran upon certain destruction. Even the Prince of Orange, who had no sympathy with James, and had professed great friendship for Monmouth, when he saw the temper of Parliament to put down the rebellion, offered to come over to England, and in person head the troops against him.

Except in personal bravery, the common attribute of soldiers, Monmouth was wanting in all the qualities requisite for such an enterprise as the invasion of England with a handful of men. His father's indulgence, and the flattery of a court, had inspired him

with ambitious hopes; the breath of popular applause had inflated him to a high presumption: but he had neither deliberative wisdom to form great plans, judgment to direct, nor moral firmness to sustain them; no genius or decision to command success.

As the day appointed for his embarking from the Texel drew near, he began to waver; the difficulties that beset his path appeared in their true proportions. But this conviction came too late; he was pledged to Argyle, who had already sailed for Scotland on the faith of his co-operating in England. He writes to one of his adherents,

“I have received both your’s this morning, and cannot delay you my answer longer than this post, though I fear it will not please you so much as I heartily wish it may. I have weighed all your reasons, and every thing that you and my other friends have writ to me on the subject; and have done it with the greatest inclination to follow your advice without prejudice. You may well believe I have had time enough to reflect sufficiently upon our present state, especially since I came hither. But whatever way I turn my thoughts, I find insuperable difficulties. Pray do not think it an effect of melancholy, for that was never my greatest fault, when I tell you that in these three weeks’ retirement in this place, I have not only looked back, but forward; and the more I consider our present circumstances, I think them still the more desperate, unless some unforeseen accident fall out, which I cannot divine nor hope for.”

He then adduces some excellent reasons against the enterprise,—any one of which should have deterred him from engaging in it. To provide against difficulties, or to resolve not to encounter them, is the

part of wisdom—to falter in the moment of action is weakness, and the certain prelude to discomfiture.

“And” (he proceeds) “to tell you my thoughts without disguise, I am now so much in love with a retired life, that I am never like to be fond of making a bustle in the world again.” He sighed after the ease of retirement, when he should have bravely buckled on his sword: whilst he grasped at a disputed crown, he would fain solace himself in the repose of an unambitious life! The real secret of his inconsistency was the thralldom of an unhallowed passion for Henrietta, Baroness Wentworth,* for whom he had forsaken his amiable and lovely wife, and her children, attempting even to justify his desertion of her on the unmanly plea of a too early marriage, which to a generous heart would endear, if not sanctify, the union:

“Lady Wentworth had followed him to Brussels, desperately in love with him; and both he and she came to fancy that he being married to his Duchess, while he was indeed of the age of consent, but not capable of a free one, the marriage was null: so they lived together; and she had heated both herself and him with such enthusiastical conceits, that they fancied what they did was approved of God!”†

“It was,” says Fox, “with great reluctance that he tore himself from the arms of Lady Wentworth, with

* Henrietta Maria Wentworth, Baroness of Nettlested in her own right, the only daughter and heir of Thomas, Lord Wentworth. Her seat was at Toddington, in the county of Bedford. She died of a broken heart nine months after the execution of Monmouth, for whom she had sacrificed her fair fame. *Life, Progresses, and Rebellion of James, Duke of Monmouth*, by George Roberts, vol. ii. pp. 322 and 339.

† Burnet's *Hist. of his own Time*, Edⁿ 1839, p. 404.

whom he had so firmly persuaded himself that he could be happy in the most obscure retirement, that he believed himself weaned from ambition, which had hitherto been the only passion of his mind.* Unprepared and irresolute, fearing to go on, ashamed to recede, barely escaping the vigilance of James's agents, he set sail on the 24th of May, with three ships and 150 followers. After a tedious passage he landed at Lyme on the 11th of June. There drawing his sword, he knelt down, and uttered a prayer to the God of Truth, Who in every part of His divine word commands obedience to rulers, and honour to kings, beseeching Him to bless the cause of a rebellion, founded on pretensions which he himself knew to be false.

He published a long inflated proclamation, full of absurd reproaches against "James Duke of York." He charges him with the burning of London—with having been accessory to the death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey—with having hired execrable villains to assassinate the late Earl of Essex—with cruelty and ingratitude in the murder of the late King, "for which villanous and unnatural crime, that barbarous and horrid parricide, executed upon our father, we will prosecute him to death as a mortal and bloody enemy." He asserts his own legitimate right to the crowns of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, "notwithstanding the means used by the late king, his father, upon Popish motives, and at the instigation of the Duke, to weaken and obscure it." He denounces all who shall aid the

* Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 25.

said Duke of York as enemies of God, mankind, and their country. He "calls heaven and earth to witness to the necessity of their betaking themselves to arms as men and Christians;" appeals to God for the justice of his cause, and doubts not the assistance of all Protestant kings, princes, and commonwealths, "who do either regard the Gospel of Jesus Christ, or their own interests." "Above all," (he adds) "our dependence and trust is upon the Lord of Hosts, in whose name we go forth, and to whom we commit our cause, and refer the decision betwixt us and our enemies in the day of battle. Now let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God; and the Lord do that which seemeth good unto Him."*

The answers he received to this mixture of folly, impiety, and falsehood, were an Act of Parliament for his attainder, and a proclamation promising "a reward of 5,000*l.* to any one who shall bring in the person of James Duke of Monmouth, alive or dead." Great numbers of the common people, however, flocked to his standard: he advanced to Axminster, Taunton, Bridgewater, Bristol, and Bath, amid the shouts of admiring crowds, gathering an undisciplined force of about 5,000 men, without military resources, arms, or money. No doubt many of the gentry secretly wished him well, hoping that by any means the country might be secured from the Romish ascendancy: but the Parliament having declared against him, few would hazard the danger of joining an

* Echard, vol. iii. p. 758. Kennett's History, vol. iii. p. 428.

insurrection that offered so little hope of a prosperous issue.

Monmouth was deceived into a vain confidence by processions of young maidens, scattering flowers in his path, and the cries of welcome from a fond populace, admiring his personal beauty, and captivated by his gracious manners. These demonstrations of attachment, and the urgent advice of injudicious friends, prompted him to put forth another address, proclaiming himself King: he set a price on James's head, declared the Parliament a factious assembly,* and wrote a letter to the Duke of Albemarle (who commanded the militia against him) *signed as King*, ordering him to lay down his arms on pain of suffering as a traitor. He even went so far as to exercise the ancient prerogative to "*touch for the evil*."

This assumption of royalty completed the ruin of his cause, and was fatal to him after he was a prisoner.† It was contrary to his solemn engagement with Argyle and his associates;‡ it gave offence to the most zealous of his friends, to the old Republicans, and to the Whig party, who were pledged to the succession of the Princess of Orange; and it opened the eyes of all reflecting men to the calamities that must attend a disputed succession.§ The nation

* Kennet, vol. iii. p. 431.

† Life, Progresses, and Rebellion of James, Duke of Monmouth, by George Roberts, vol. ii. p. 128.

‡ Sir Patrick Hume's Narration, p. 15.

§ "Whether his own single follie, or the councill of those that were supposed to betray him added to it, was the cause of his proclaiming himself King, was doubtful. But this was certain, that severall thousands quitted him within three days after." Lord Londale's *Memoir of the Reign of James II.*, written at the time, and published in 1808, 4to.

was not yet sufficiently conscious of James's plans against their liberties, and religion, to unite in driving him from the throne, and least of all for one whose claim was manifestly groundless. The iron yoke of Cromwell's rebellion and tyranny was still fresh in their memories: they foresaw that "an inundation of phantasies, and men of impious principles, must needs cause universal disorder, cruelty, injustice, rapine, sacrilege, and confusion, an universal civil war, and misery without end."*

Not to dwell on all the false steps of himself and his officers,—his own irresolute movements, and their treachery and cowardice, it is sufficient to say that on the 6th of July, within a few weeks of his landing, he was entirely defeated at Sedgemoor by the King's troops under the command of Lord Feverham. His undisciplined forces, though superior in numbers, could not withstand the shock of the royal army: they fled in disorder; 1300 were killed in the action and pursuit; the prisoners, who were not many less in number, were treated with a savage cruelty that stamps indelible disgrace on the commanders, and on James, whose orders they afterwards pleaded, and with too much truth, in extenuation of their barbarities.

We have at Sedgemoor the unwonted spectacle of a prelate of the Church personally engaged in the thickest of the fight. Dr. Mews, Bishop of Winchester, had been a soldier, and had fought for Charles I. in 1642, and afterwards in Scotland for his son

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 229.

Charles II. He had also served under the Duke of York in Flanders, and now, laying aside his lawn, he once more took arms for his royal master in the battle of Sedgemoor, where "he was active in the soldiery way."* Seeing that the guns were all levelled in the same direction, and that their force might be eluded by an opening of the opposite ranks, he employed his coach-horses in drawing them to another spot, and "planted them to fire saltire-wise, that their shot might reach from front to flank." The King presented him with a rich medal in acknowledgment of his service.† After the battle this courageous prelate showed the true spirit of a Christian soldier in his compassion for those whom he had helped to defeat. The Earl of Feversham was marching off the prisoners tied together like slaves, and making a halt at the first great sign post that stood across the road, he commanded four or five of them to be hanged upon it, and would have gone on in that arbitrary way, if the Bishop had not come up, and expostulated with him, calling out, "My Lord, this is murder in law. These poor wretches, now the battle is over, must be tried before they are put to death."‡

With no less compassion Bishop Ken pleaded the

* Salmon's *Lives of the English Bishops*, p. 249.

† Fox's *History of the Reign of James II.*, p. 264. Burnet's *History of his own Time*.

‡ Sir James Mackintosh ascribes this humane interference to Bishop Ken: Mr. Macaulay doubts if the story can be applicable to him: Mr. Markland, in his excellent *Life of Ken*, agrees with Sir James, and forcibly vindicates his opinion. But on a careful investigation it will appear that Macaulay is right. I believe it was Mews, whom Kennett erroneously calls the Bishop of Bath, though he had been lately translated to Winchester. See Kennett's *Hist.* vol. iii. p. 432.

cause of the prisoners with the King. He had hastened to his diocese as soon as the Parliament broke up: his tender nature sympathized with these unhappy victims, now exposed to the unrelenting vengeance of Feverham, and the ferocious Kirke,—that ruthless tyrant, whom he had reproved at Tangier for his licentiousness. Everywhere revolting spectacles of slaughter presented themselves: the mangled bodies of the prisoners were exposed by the way side, and the roads were loathsome to pass. He did not stop to consider if the King would resent his interference; but fearless in his mission of mercy he wrote to remonstrate against the cruelty of his officers.* Sir Thomas Cutler, who held the command at Wells, aided him in this appeal to James: when he and Ken, “out of compassion for the poor people, jointly interested for the extension of the royal mercy to them, their request was granted without any signs of reluctance. The King afterwards meeting with Sir Thomas, thanked him for this intercession, expressed how agreeable it was to him, and wished that the like humanity had engaged others to act in the same way.”† Not content with this, the Bishop engaged with all his wonted zeal in personally alleviating the miseries of the survivors, who expected

* “Besides those that were killed in the field there were about seven hundred sentenced to death, and executed, insomuch that all the high ways of that countrey were no longer to be travailed, whilst the horror of so many quarters of men, and the offensive stench of them lasted, of which Dr. Ken, the Bishop of that Diocese, writ a most patheticall letter to his Majestic.” Lord Lonsdale’s *Memoirs*, p. 12.

† *Reflections on Dr. Burnet’s Posthumous History*, 8vo. 1728, p. 100, quoted by Dr. Routh, the venerable President of Magdalen College, Oxford, in his 2nd Edit. of *Burnet’s History of the Reign of James II.*, note, p. 73.

to be condemned to death. Several hundreds of the rebels being imprisoned at Wells, where they had "a church for their prison, and a board for their bed," he visited and relieved them night and day, and prayed with them, forgiving the irreverence with which they had profaned his Cathedral, and looking to their sufferings, rather than their crimes.*

Historians are divided in opinion as to Monmouth's behaviour in the action. Mr. Fox says "he fled while his troops were still fighting, and therefore too soon for his glory."† After wandering up and down for two days, driven to the greatest straits even for food, he was discovered lying in a ditch, in the disguise of a shepherd, covered with ferns and brakes. On being searched his George was found upon him, which, together with the welcome news of his capture, was conveyed by an express to the King. Out of his pocket were taken books in his own hand writing, containing charms, and spells, and conjurations to open the doors of a prison, and to prevent the danger of being wounded in battle, together with songs and prayers.‡

We might expect, that one who had aspired to a crown would show himself worthy of playing so high

* Coad's Memorandum, &c. p. 12. Hawkins's Life of Ken, pp. 16. 52. Roberts's Life of Monmouth, vol. ii. p. 36.

† Fox's History of the Reign of James II., p. 264.

"Herein the Duke of Monmouth lost much of his reputation for courage, for instead of dying in the field as was expected, he left his men fighting, and endeavoured to escape in company with my Lord Gray." Lord Londdale's Memoirs, p. 11.

‡ An Account of the manner of taking the late Duke of Monmouth," &c. 1685.

a game; that, having staked his life on a cast, he would bravely "stand the hazard of the die." But no sooner was he in the power of the enemy than he betrayed a poor weak spirit: he burst into unmanly tears. To the King, whom he had before branded as a cruel usurper, murderer, and fratricide, he wrote a letter, even more abject than he had penned to his father on his former rebellion. He expresses no remorse for the slaughter of his admiring followers, whom he had seduced from their allegiance,—he makes no appeal on behalf of the unhappy prisoners,—he utters no cry for the royal clemency towards the thronging crowds, who had decked his path with flowers, shouting "a Monmouth, a Monmouth," and were now reserved for execution. He is wholly occupied in selfish fears for himself: as before, so now, he lays the whole blame on others, who by false arguments had prompted him to the rash enterprize;—he calls them

"Horrid people whom it was my misfortune to meet with. But, Sir, I will not trouble your Majesty at present with many things I could say for myself, that I am sure would move your compassion, the chief end of this letter being only to beg of you that I may have that happiness to speak to your Majesty; for I have that to say to you, Sir, that I hope may give you a long and happy reign. I am sure, Sir, when you hear me you will be convinced of the zeal I have for your preservation, and how heartily I repent of what I have done. Therefore, Sir, I shall make an end by begging your Majesty to believe so well of me, that I would rather die a thousand deaths than excuse anything I have done; if I really did not think myself the most in the wrong that ever any man was, and had not from the bottom of my heart *an abhorrence of those who put*

*me upon it, and for the action itself. I hope God Almighty will strike your heart with mercy and compassion for me, as He has done mine with abhorrence of what I have done."**

Such is the man who has been described by party writers as the "ill fated, illustrious, generous, brave, patriotic Monmouth." Mr. Fox, in his account of the sad spectacle of his death, says that "his qualities go a great way in making up the catalogue of all that is amiable and estimable in human nature!"† surely a strange perversion of judgment in a writer, who is himself sometimes lauded as an example of the amenities of social life.

The King granted Monmouth the interview he desired: it was but to triumph over his misfortunes, and ascertain whether he had really any secrets to disclose. Monmouth, prostrate at his feet, acknowledged his guilt, admitted that the late King had told him he was never married to his mother, and pleaded pathetically for his life, which he would be ever willing to sacrifice in his service. He even expressed his readiness to change his religion, reminding the King that he had originally been educated in the Roman faith.‡ "Remember, Sir," (he added) "I am your brother's son, and if you take my life, it is your own blood you will shed." This last appeal would have prevailed with any other than an inexorable tyrant. Charles had almost endangered his crown by a resolute adherence to James's right of succession, against the sense of the nation, and the declared voice

* Fox's History of the Reign of James II., p. 266. Echard, p. 771.

† Ibid. p. 287.

‡ Burnet's History of his own Time.

of the Commons. To sacrifice that brother's beloved son, faulty as he was, betrayed a cold-hearted insensibility to the claims of gratitude, and the ties of nature. James, unmoved by any sense of pity, stood over his doomed victim, now kneeling before him, and bathed in tears. The triumph of his revenge could only be completed on the scaffold. At length Monmouth, "when he saw he could gain nothing by further submissions, rose from his feet with a new air of bravery, and was carried back to the Tower."*

One day only was allowed him to prepare for death. Still clinging to hope, he occupied the time in abject supplications for mercy. He wrote again and again to the King, and sent for some of the most influential persons about the court, whose interference he thought might gain him a respite, if not a pardon. All was in vain. When the humblest of his adherents in this lately crushed rebellion, even women and children, were not spared, what hope could there be for Monmouth, the long hated rival, and competitor for the crown, the leader of enemies who, even in the former reign, had well nigh changed the order of succession?

James, though he had disregarded Ken's pathetic appeals for mercy towards the prisoners in the west, felt no resentment at his benevolent exertions for their relief, "nor so much as harboured any jealous thought of him."† He sent for him to attend Monmouth in his last hours. He rightly judged that his visits to

* Kennett, vol. iii. p. 432.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 17.

the Somersethire prisons were prompted only by a sense "of duty to his distressed brethren, to save them from perishing both in body and soul."* Turner, Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Hooper, were joined with him in spiritual attendance on Monmouth, who desired that Dr. Tenison might also wait on him.† Of all persons living we might least expect to find the gentle and tender-hearted Ken, an actor in the tragical scene that was preparing. The duty however being laid upon him, he performed it with his accustomed faithfulness: he and Turner remained with Monmouth in the Tower during the night of the 15th of July, endeavouring to prepare him for eternity. They found him fearfully insensible to his sins of rebellion and adultery;—confident indeed of eternal happiness, but not on the saving condition of a true repentance. It is necessary to state this plainly; for they have been censured by Fox, Burnet,‡ and others for unfeeling

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 17.

† "Some Catholic divines were sent to him from court. But they soon discovered that, though he would gladly have purchased his life by renouncing the religion of which he had professed himself in an especial manner the defender, yet, if he was to die, he would as soon die without their absolution as with it." Macaulay's *Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 618.

‡ Burnet was not in England at the time; but, as usual, finds fault with all who are not of his politics, boldly assuming facts of which he could not be cognizant. He says, "the two Bishops, whilst he was in the Tower, continued still to press on him a deep sense of the sin of rebellion; at which he grew so uneasy, that he desired them to speak to him of other matters. They next charged him with the sin of living with the Lady Wentworth as he had done. In that he justified himself: he had married his Duchess too young to give a true consent. He said, that lady was a pious, worthy woman, and that he had never lived so well in all respects, as since his engagements with her. All the pains they took to convince him of the unlawfulness of that course of life had no effect. They did certainly very well in discharging their consciences,

severity towards Monmouth, in his endeavours to awaken him to a contrite view of his past life. So difficult is it to satisfy prejudiced minds. Mr. Fox in particular is so great an admirer of the character of Monmouth, that he cannot bear any imputation against it. On the other hand he misjudges, and therefore miscolours, the acts and motives of the Divines, who were reluctantly compelled to speak home truths to the sufferer. The document from which Fox draws all his conclusions furnishes their best refutation. It is to be found in the first volume of the Somers' Tracts, entitled, "An Account of what passed at the Execution of the late Duke of Monmouth, published by authority, and signed by Bishop Ken, Bishop Turner, Dr. Tenison, Dr. Hooper, and the Sheriffs, who declare it to be 'a true account.'"* We need only compare Mr. Fox's commentary with the text to show the inaccuracy, and strained constructions, which run through this part of his History of James II. and as it brings a grave charge against our good Bishop, the reader will here expect to find his vindication, if such can be made.

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* Somers's Tracts, vol. ix. p. 260.

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Fox states that, as Monmouth proceeded to the scaffold, the two Bishops were with him in the carriage of the Lieutenant of the Tower; "and one of them took that opportunity of telling him that their controversial altercations were not yet at an end; and that upon the scaffold he would again be pressed for more explicit declarations of repentance." * It would have been a more accurate version, and have given a truer colour to what follows, if he had stated, from the "Account," that "*the Duke himself entreated them to accompany him to the place of execution, and to continue with him to the last,*"† because it would have shown that, so far from their having said or done any thing harsh or displeasing, he had received sympathy and comfort, even if he had not been brought to better convictions, by their previous attendance upon him in the Tower. In fact, the "controversial altercations" were a mere inference of the writer's own mind: for "the Bishops made seasonable and devout applications to him all the way; and one of them desired him not to be surprized, if they to the very last upon the scaffold renewed those exhortations to a particular repentance, which they had so often repeated before."‡

Mr. Fox says, "Certain it is that none of these

* Fox's History of James II., p. 281.

† "Account of what passed at the Execution of the late Duke of Monmouth." 1685.

‡ Ibid. Notwithstanding his refusal to acknowledge any sorrow for his rebellion, he had from Ringwood, immediately after his capture, written to the Queen, to intercede for pardon, saying, "I would not desire your Majesty to do it, if I wear not from the bottom of my hart convinced how I have bene deceived into it, and how angry God Almighty is with me for it: but I hope, Madam, your intercession will give me life to repent of it." Ellis's Original Letters, 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 343.

holy men seem to have erred on the side of compassion, or complaisance to their illustrious penitent.”* Surely the most Christian, and to Monmouth the only effectual, compassion they could exercise would be a zealous regard for his eternal welfare. This they emphatically showed in their “many pious ejaculations, and their earnest prayers,”† &c. As to complaisance,—it is rather the priest’s office, under such circumstances, by a close searching of the heart to awaken it to the voice of truth, which speaks of righteousness, and judgment to come. Such a faithful candour was especially demanded towards this “illustrious penitent,” who was no penitent in any sense, until brought to something like a feeling of his sins by their continued, earnest, and affectionate appeals. For we find that he began, on mounting the scaffold, as if he was about to make a premeditated speech in this manner: “I have had a scandal raised upon me about a woman, a lady of virtue and honour; I will name her, the Lady Henrietta Wentworth: I declare she is a very virtuous and godly woman; I have committed no sin with her; and that which hath passed betwixt us was very honest and innocent in the sight of God. I can bless God, that He has given me so much grace, that for these two years last past” (during which he had abandoned his Dukes and his own children, for this guilty love)—“I have led a life unlike to my former course” (one of notorious and varied profligacy) “and have been happy.”‡ Would not the Divines, who were attend-

* Fox’s History of James II., p. 280.

† “Account of what passed at the Execution of the late Duke of Monmouth.” 1685.

‡ Ibid.

ing him for the express purpose of rousing his conscience, have betrayed their trust, if they had not spoken plainly on such a strange perversion?

But to pass from his private life to his public acts; Mr. Fox dwells more particularly on the Divines "teazing him with controversy, and being far more solicitous to make him profess what they deemed the true creed of the Church of England (the doctrine of Non-resistance) than to soften and console his sorrows, or to help him to that composure of mind so necessary for his situation."* Yet he himself shows that the prisoner stood in no need of help to such composure; he lauds his equanimity and courage on the scaffold: and in the published "Account" we have Monmouth's repeated declarations, "I die with great cheerfulness, for I know I shall go to God; I have no fear, as you may see by my face; I am sure I shall go to God." So far from feeling alarm at his approaching fate, he was an example of its very opposite,—that worse state of indifference, against which their efforts were directed. He was insensible to all the considerations that would have thronged upon the mind of a true penitent: he boasted of his own confidence, "God be praised, I have encouragement enough in myself:" "I die with all the joyfulness in the world."

He was untouched by any sense of the consequences of his rebellion. Not even those two thousand victims of his ambition,—his deluded, slaughtered followers,—those "wretched fugitives," as Fox describes them, "who were massacred in ditches, corn fields, and other

* Fox's History of James II., p. 280.

hiding places,"* moved either his pity for their sufferings, or remorse for having occasioned them. "God be praised," he again said, "I die with a clear conscience; *I have wronged no man!*" "How, Sir," was the answer, "no man? have you not been guilty of invasion, and of much blood which has been shed? it may be the loss of many precious souls who followed you? you must needs have wronged a great many." These words struck him with feelings of compunction: "I am sorry for invading the kingdom; for the blood that has been shed; and for the souls which may have been lost by my means; I am sorry it ever happened: this he spoke softly."† After that, they obtained an acknowledgment from him of "repentance for all his sins, known and unknown, confessed or not confessed." This was all they desired,—a heartfelt expression of repentance: they rejoiced in the opportunity, and at once pronounced, "God Almighty of His infinite mercy forgive you." No further question was put to him: "then all went to solemn commendatory prayers, which continued for a good space; the Duke of Monmouth and the company kneeling, and joining in them with great fervency." "During the preparations for his beheading, many pious ejaculations were used by those that assisted him, with great fervency:—as 'God accept your repentance: God accept your imperfect repentance: my Lord, God accept your general repentance: God Almighty show his omnipotent mercy upon you: Father, into Thy hands we

* Fox's History of James II., p. 269.

† "Account of what passed at the Execution of the late Duke of Monmouth." 1685.

commend his spirit: Lord Jesus receive his soul.' Then the executioner proceeded to do his office.*

Surely the presence of these holy men could not be considered altogether needless. If a sense of past sin be of any avail, Mr. Fox should have applauded, rather than censured, a zeal that at length produced in Monmouth's mind the contrition to which at first he was a stranger. Did he think the sufferer's adherence, in the hour of death, to the false views upon which he had so long acted against every known law, human and divine, more praiseworthy than a humble and contrite spirit before God? or his natural courage, and composure of mind, more availing than a penitent confession?

We have no desire to justify Ken at the expense of his friends, the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Tenison, and Dr. Hooper, companions with him in this charitable work. We have reasoned as if he were equally responsible with the rest for all that is contained in the published "Account," and which carries with it their full justification.† But even if Mr. Fox's general charge against the Divines were well grounded, we might claim for Ken a particular exemption. His biographer says, "because I have lately seen some reflections in a pam-

* "Account of what passed at the Execution of the late Duke of Monmouth." 1685.

† In regard to the conduct of the Divines towards Monmouth, the impartial opinions of Sir Walter Scott and Macaulay are of more force than the prejudiced statements of Burnet and Fox. Scott says, "they have been accused of dealing harshly with the dying man; but they appear to have only discharged what in their view was a sacred duty." Somers's Tracts, vol. ix. p. 260. Macaulay, after his usual lucid and graphic statements of facts, concurs in Scott's judgment, and in his very words. Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 621.

phlet, lately crept into the world, under the suspicious title of a 'Secret History,' wherein Dr. Ken is by name mentioned to tease the Duke of Monmouth in vain on the scaffold to profess the doctrine of Passive Obedience, I think it proper boldly to affirm that our Bishop never acted or assisted there, but in the devotional part only. And this, tho' a negative, may be prov'd to satisfaction."* Hawkins must have derived this authoritative denial from the Bishop himself; and it receives some confirmation from a passage in one of Ken's own letters, written to Burnet some years after: "Passive Obedience," he there says, "is a subject with which I very rarely meddled."†

It must have been a great shock to his mild and compassionate nature to be compelled to witness the scene of unusual horror that followed,—to stand within a few paces of the unhappy nobleman, whose sufferings, owing to the executioner's unskilfulness and want of nerve, were prolonged in a manner too painful to detail. The tragical sight, the handsome person, the youth and graceful manners, the brave bearing in his last moments, of this most dear son of the late King, whose memory yet lived in their hearts, excited the universal compassion of the people. "Many handkerchiefs were dipped in his blood; for, by a large part of the multitude he was regarded as a martyr who had died for the Protestant religion."‡ The immense multitude that crowded to the very tops of the surrounding houses bemoaned his fate with tears:§

* Hawkins's Life of Bishop Ken, p. 38.

† Ibid. p. 33.

‡ Macaulay's History of England, vol. i. p. 622.

§ Long after Monmouth's death, a popular belief continued to pre-

posterity still sympathizes with the sufferer, in spite of all his faults, which we have been compelled to remember only in defence of four English Prelates,* unjustly charged with a want of Christian tenderneſs.

No ſooner was this ſad ſpectacle over, than Ken haſtened back to his diocēſe, where equally mournful ſcenes awaited him. The ferocious inſtruments of the King's revenge were let looſe like hungry wolves upon his defenceleſs flock. James had reſolved to ſtrike terror into the minds of the people by a ſevere example of vengeance. Neither rank, nor age, nor ſex was ſpared: it may be ſaid that no page of our hiſtory preſents ſuch an amount of indiſcriminate ſlaughter as the "Bloody Aſſizes" of the Weſt of England. Chief Juſtice Jeffreys was ſent down with a ſpecial commiſſion to try the rebels. Major General Kirke was ordered to attend with a body of troops to keep the people in awe. "It was not poſſible to find

vail in ſome parts of the country, that he was ſtill alive. Biſhop Turner, of Ely, writing to the Biſhop of Norwich, in 1687, relates "this true ſtory." "You know the honeſt fellow that waits on me in my chamber; I lately gave him leave to viſit his Parents in Darbyſhire, where it being known that hee attended on me, the diſſenters far and neere, to the number of twenty or more, came one by one to ſpeak with him (though perfect ſtrangers to him). Their firſt queſtion to him was this, *were you with your Lord at the Tower when the Duke of Monmouth was ſaid to be executed?* Then, *were you at the ſcaffold?* Tell us honeſtly, *Did you ſee the Duke of M. mount it?* Are you ſure it was hee? *Did you know him by ſight before that time?* Did you then ſee his head off? Uppon his repeated aſſurances of the matter of fact, they would ſhow ſigns of extreme ſorrow." Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Lib., vol. xxix. fol. 64.

* Dr Teniſon was afterwards made Archbiſhop of Canterbury by William III., and Dr. Hooper Biſhop of St. Aſaph, and then of Bath, by Queen Anne.

in the whole kingdom two men more devoid of religion, honour, and humanity: they were two cruel merciless tigers, that delighted in blood."* Hume describes Jeffreys as "a wanton in cruelty; he set out with a savage joy, as to a full harvest of death and destruction." The victims found no mercy at his hands: he afterwards boasted that he had hanged more men than all the Judges of England since William the Conqueror.† He had his reward: the King made him Lord Chancellor;—his death bed in the Tower was one of horror and despair. "Kirke was a soldier of fortune, who had long served in Tangier, and had contracted, from his intercourse with the Moors, an inhumanity less known in European and in free countries. At his first entrance into Bridgewater he hanged nineteen prisoners without the least enquiry into the merits of their cause. As if to make sport with death, he ordered a certain number to be executed, while he and his company should drink the King's health, or the Queen's, or Judge Jeffreys's. Observing their feet to quiver in the agonies of death, he cried out that he would give them

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 750

† "Another visitation was fixed for Wells, and the same cruelties exercised on the unfortunate persons who appeared before his (Jeffreys') tribunal. In short, 385 were delivered over to transportation: 97 died by the executioner: some few escaped, being left out in the warrant for execution. The Chief Justice then proposed to *jog home-ward*, taking Bristol in his way. Bishop Ken remonstrated with the tyrant, stating that the prisoners were entitled to trial by jury, but without effect; and the good Prelate endeavoured by all means in his power to soothe the wretched victims, awaiting the dreadful sentence of an inexorable Judge in his city." *The History and Antiquities of Somersetshire*, by the Rev. W. Phelps, 1836, vol. i. p. 102.

music to their dancing, and he immediately commanded the drums to beat, and the trumpets to sound.*

At Bridgewater, Taunton, and Wells, the jails were crowded with the unhappy prisoners. True, they had been engaged in open violation of the laws; but they were afflicted, hungry, plundered, and under the terrors of death. These were unanswerable claims to the sympathy of Bishop Ken. He went from prison to prison, ministering to their wants, and exercising all the offices of mercy.†

Macaulay says, "The chief friend and protector of these unhappy men in their extremity was one who abhorred their religious and political opinions, one whose order they hated, and to whom they had done unprovoked wrong,—Bishop Ken. That good prelate used all his influence to soften the jailers, and retrenched from his own episcopal state, that he might be able to make some addition to the coarse and scanty fare of those who had defaced his beloved Cathedral. His conduct on this occasion was of a piece with his whole life."‡

Ten years afterwards, when he was a deprived Bishop, being summoned by King William's Privy Council to answer to a charge of promoting subscriptions for the relief of the non-juring clergy, he modestly pleads that what he did on behalf of the

* Hume's History of England.

† His own Cathedral city, though not polluted by so many executions as Taunton, yet witnessed the hanging of 99 of the rebels, and the transportation of 383 to slavery in the colonies. Roberts's Life of Monmouth, vol. ii. p. 261.

‡ Macaulay's History of England, vol. i. p. 632.

prisoners in Monmouth's rebellion then gave no offence to the court. "My Lords," he says, "in King James's time there were about a thousand or more imprisoned in my Diocese, who were engaged in the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, and many of them were such which I had reason to believe to be ill men, and void of all religion: and yet, for all that, I thought it my duty to relieve them. It is well known to the Diocese that I visited them night and day, and I thank God I supplied them with necessaries myself, as far as I could, and encouraged others to do the same."*

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 52.



CHAPTER XII.

Ken's "Exposition of the Church Catechism"—"Directions for Prayer"—"Prayers for the use of persons who come to the Baths"—Persecution of the French Huguenots—Ken's charitable disposition—His zeal in the Pastoral office.



IT is time to lead Bishop Ken from these scenes of misery to duties more congenial to his nature. To be the peaceful guide, the teacher, the counsellor, the comforter, the friend, the censor, when need was, of his widely scattered flock, were the offices that would best refresh his tired spirit. In these he exemplified the compassionate zeal of a primitive Bishop to promote the welfare of his people. His whole thoughts seem to have been engaged in prompting them to Christian holiness, especially by his example of meekness, charity, self denial, and prayer. He lived amongst his clergy, knowing that such a responsible work, to be effectual, must be uniform and abiding. "It was frequently said, by many of eminence, who knew him well, that they never knew any person so able, and earnest to do good in such a station as he was."*

The education of the young was among the first objects at which his exertions aimed. In this he had already shown his zeal by the publication of his "Manual of Prayer," for the use of the Winchester

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 12.

scholars: but it is not generally known that he was one of the earliest and most successful promoters of the system of Parish Schools,—now again, within the last thirty years, happily revived in England. Hawkins says,

“He found so much deplorable ignorance among the grown poor people, that he feared little good was to be done upon them: but said *he would try whether he could not lay a foundation to make the next generation better.* And this put him upon setting up many schools in all the great towns of his Diocese, for poor children to be taught to read, and say their Catechism. By this method and management he engaged the ministers to be more *careful in catechizing the children of their parishes*; and they were by him furnished with a stock of necessary books for the use of children. And we may now judge by the great and good success of the Charity-schools, which are now so numerous, what great and good ends he at that time proposed.”*

Thus with the system of Parish schools he connects the practice of catechizing: and not only did he enforce this in schools, but in Church also, as a duty expressly ordered in the Rubric,—a duty, long neglected, and almost obsolete, until of late years, when its importance has begun once more to be recognized. “The Church,” he says, “has enjoined all fathers and mothers, masters and dames, to cause their children, servants, and apprentices, to come to the Church at the time appointed, and obediently to hear, and be ordered by the Curate, until such time as they have learned all that is appointed in the Catechism to be learned.”†

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 13.

† Preface to the “Practice of Divine Love.”

It is difficult to account for the prevalent neglect, during the last century, of that express order of our Church,—“ the Curate of every Parish shall diligently upon Sundays and Holy-days, after the second lesson at Evening Prayer, openly in the Church instruct, and examine the children in some part of this Catechism.” It cannot be that our Clergy need examples in their predecessors for enforcing this wholesome order: they have Bishops Andrewes, Sancroft, Wake, Wilton, Dr. Hammond, and many other most excellent and learned Prelates and Divines. Wherever the practice has been restored, it is found to excite a lively interest, not in the minds of the children and parents only, but in the congregation generally. It conveys to them a more simple exposition of Scripture, and a clearer view of doctrine than they gain from sermons: for, says George Herbert in his “ COUNTRY PARSON,” “ there is in sermons a kind of state; in catechizing there is a humbleness very suitable to Christian regeneration. It is an admirable way of teaching, wherein the catechized will at length find delight, and by which the catechizer, if he once get the skill of it, will draw out of silly souls even the dark and deep points of religion.”*

That he might more effectually help forward this great duty, the Bishop at once put forth the work already alluded to, “ An Exposition on the CHURCH CATECHISM, or the Practice of Divine Love, composed for the Diocese of Bath and Wells.” We are able to fix the precise date of its publication: the *Imprimatur*

* *The Parson Catechizing.*

was granted at Lambeth, August 9, 1685,—being less than a month after his attendance on the scaffold with Monmouth. Nothing can be more affectionate and persuasive than his exhortation to his people to secure the means of Christian instruction for themselves, and their children, through the Catechism. He dedicates it by “An Epistle to the Inhabitants within the Diocese of Bath and Wells,” whom he addresses as his “Dearly Beloved in the Lord,” calling himself “Thomas, your unworthy Bishop,” and “willeth them the Knowledge and Love of God:”

“Since the Providence of God,” he says, “Who is wont to glorify His strength in the weakness of the instruments He uses, has caught me up from among the meanest herdmen* into the pastoral throne, and has been pleased to commit you to my care, the love I ought to pay to the Chief Shepherd obliges me to feed all His lambs and His sheep, that belong to my flock, and according to my poor abilities, to teach them the knowledge and the love of God, and how they may make them both their daily study and practice. One thing I most earnestly beg of you all, whether old or young, that ye would help me to save your own souls; that ye would learn, and seriously consider, again and again, the terms on which your salvation is to be had. As for you who have families, I beseech you to instil into your children and servants their duty, both by your teaching and your example: in good earnest it is less cruel and unnatural to deny them bread for their mortal bodies, than saving knowledge for their immortal souls. Ye that are fathers, or masters, I exhort you to tread in the steps of Abraham, the father of the faithful, and the friend of God, and like him to command your children and household, to keep the way of the Lord. Ye that are mothers, or mistresses,

* Amos, i. 1.

I exhort you to imitate that unfeigned faith, which dwelt in young Timothy's grandmother Lois, and his mother Eunice, who taught him from a child to know the Holy Scriptures, which were able to make him wise to salvation; and like them to bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. God of his infinite mercy bleſs the whole to His glory, and to your edification, through Jeſus the beloved. Amen. Amen."

Independent of its merits as an Exposition of Catholic doctrine, this treatise abounds with passages of eminent force and beauty. It contains, like all his other writings, solemn avowals of his attachment to the Anglican Church, for which he afterwards suffered imprisonment under one king, and deprival by another. They stamp him, as he has ever been considered, one of the most orthodox and holy Prelates of any age. They show his familiar acquaintance with Scripture, his fervent piety, and the exactness of his judgment, by which he weighed every doctrine in the balance of the divine word. There is, perhaps, no book in our language so rich in devotional treasure, better adapted to the needs and capacities of the poor, or more calculated to raise the affections of simple hearts to the love of God. He seems to pour forth a continuous stream of praise and adoration, and penitent love, straining upwards to a foretaste of the unclouded joys yet to come. His whole life was an example of this devout spirit, which may be said to have been the leading feature of his character. We have already seen that nothing was permitted to interrupt "his closet addresses to his God," his recreation, and his studies, and the active work of his Diocese being all

made subservient to this highest duty and privilege ;— and how he accustomed himself to but one sleep, and rose often at one or two o'clock in the morning, and sometimes sooner, to join the angels in their work of praise.*

It was in this spirit that he directed the Winchester scholars, “ as soon as they awoke in the morning, to offer the first fruits of the day to God.” “ When you are ready, look on your soul as still undrest, till you have said your prayers. Remember that God under the Law ordained a lamb to be offered up to Him every morning and evening. A lamb ! that is a fit emblem of youth and innocence ; think then that you are to resemble this lamb, and be sure every day to offer up yourself a morning and an evening sacrifice to God.”

And as if this were a subject which could never be exhausted, he now again, in this first year of his Episcopate, composed, for the special use of the poor, his third book of Devotions, under the title of “ DIRECTIONS FOR PRAYER, TAKEN OUT OF THE CHURCH CATECHISM.” He thus addresses it,

*To the poor Inhabitants within the Diocese of Bath and Wells, THOMAS, their unworthy Bishop, wisheth
the knowledge and the love of God.*

“ DEARLY BELOVED IN OUR LORD,

“ The Catechism truly teaches all Christians, that they are ‘ not able of themselves to do those things’ they have vowed in their baptism to do, namely, ‘ To walk in the Command-

* See his Midnight Hymn, and many others in his Volumes of Poetry.

ments of God, and to serve Him,' without His special grace, or favourable assistance; and this 'they are to learn at all times to call upon God for, by diligent prayer.'

"How good and seasonable this advice is, you will all see, if you consider what helpless and needy creatures the very best of men are. Alas! our weakness is very great, our wants are very many, our dependence on God for all things, all our lives long, is entire and absolute, and necessary, and there is no way in the world to gain help and supplies from God, but by prayer; so that it is as easy and as possible to preserve a natural life without daily bread, as a Christian life without daily prayer.

"It was for this reason that our Saviour himself took a particular care to teach 'his disciples to pray;' and it is for the same reason, and in imitation of our heavenly Master, that I have joined these directions for prayer to the Catechism.

"Sure I am, the zeal I ought to have for your salvation, can suggest to me nothing more conducing to the good of your souls, than to exhort and beseech you all, of either sex, to learn how to pray.

"This is the first general request I shall make to you; and I am the more earnest in it, because my own sad experience has taught me, how strangely ignorant common people usually are of this duty; inasmuch that some never pray at all, pretending they were never taught, or that their memories are bad, or that they are not book-learned, or that they want money to buy a book; and by this means, they live and die rather like beasts than men; nay, their condition is much worse than that of beasts, for the misery of a beast doth end at death; but the misery of a wicked man does then begin, and will endure to all eternity.

"To prevent, then, as much as lies in me, the damnation of those souls which God has committed to my care, and to cure that lamentable ignorance and forgetfulness of God, which is the cause of the damnation of so very many, I do not only incessantly pray for you myself, but I beg of you all

to pray for yourselves, and I beseech you to read the following instructions; or if you cannot read yourselves, to get some honest charitable neighbours to read them often to you, that you may remember them; and God of His great mercy reward the charity of such neighbours.

“If any of you, either by your own negligence, or by the negligence of your parents, or for want of catechizing in your parish, are wholly ignorant of your duty,—though it be a most shameful and dangerous thing for one who calls himself a Christian, to know nothing of Christ or Christianity,—yet if you are willing to learn, and beg pardon of God for your wilful ignorance hitherto, and will sincerely do your endeavour to get saving knowledge, and heartily pray to God to assist you, you shall find, that the very entrance of God’s word giveth light, ‘that it giveth understanding unto the simple.’

“I must warn you beforehand, that corrupt nature will be very busy in hindering the learning of your duty, and thoughts will arise in your mind, that the task will be too hard and too tedious for you to undertake; but I faithfully promise you, to impose no hard or tedious task on you, but such as you yourselves shall confess to be very complying with your infirmities; for our most compassionate Saviour teaches me to say no more to you, than ‘you can bear.’

After an earnest and most primitive exhortation to them, to learn their Catechism, and some short ejaculations which he recommends for their use, he thus proceeds:—

“Such short prayers as these you may easily get by heart; and the method in which I advise you to proceed, is that in which children are commonly taught, in regard I am now to look on you as a child; for there are two sorts of children; there are children in age, and children in understanding; and in this latter respect you are children, and the

same method for the most part is proper for you, which is proper for those that are children in age.

"I must therefore feed you with milk, before you can be capable of strong meat; and I must look on you as lambs of my flock, which I am to use tenderly: and these following directions, which I give to parents, for the training up their children in piety, I do equally design for the training up of you. God, of His infinite goodness, bless them to you both!

"I exhort all you who are parents, to instil good things into your children as soon as ever they begin to speak; let the first words they utter, if it be possible, be these, '*Glory be to God:*' accustom them to repeat these words on their knees, as soon as they rise, and when they go to bed, and oft-times in the day; and let them not eat or drink, without saying, '*Glory be to God.*'

"As their speech grows more plain and easy to them, teach them Who made, and redeemed, and sanctified them, and for what end, namely, to glorify and to love God; and withal, teach them some of the shortest ejaculations you can, such as these:—

"'Lord, help me; Lord, save me.

"'Lord, have mercy upon me.

"'All love, all glory, be to God, Who first loved me.

"'Lord, keep me in Thy Love.'

"Within a little time you may teach them the Lord's Prayer, and hear them say it every day, morning and evening, on their knees, with some one or more of the foregoing ejaculations; and by degrees, as they grow up, they will learn the Creed, and the whole Catechism.

"Be sure to teach your children with all the sweetness and gentleness you can, lest if you should be severe, or should over-task them, Religion should seem to them rather a burden than a blessing.

"As their knowledge increases, so let their prayers increase also, and teach them, as they go, to turn their Catechism into prayers, after the manner which I shall show you; and, to

confirm and improve their knowledge, bring them duly to the Church to be catechized by the Parish Priest, that by his familiar and devout explications of the Catechism, they may learn to understand it, and may be capable of reading the Exposition on it, and other books of piety.

“Take conscientious care to season your children, as early as you can, with the love of God, which is ‘the first and great command,’ and with ‘the fear of God, which is the beginning of wisdom;’ for the awful love, and the filial fear of God, must always go together.

“The same method you observe in teaching your children, the same you may observe in teaching your servants, according as you see they want teaching; and you yourselves will reap the benefit of it, as well as your servants: for the more devout servants they are of God, the more faithful servants will they be to you.

“Remember, you must teach both your children and servants by your example as well as by your instruction; for they learn best by example: and if they see you give an example of fraud or lying, of revenge or calumny, of uncleanness or drunkenness, of cursing and swearing, and irreligion, instead of teaching them to obey God, you teach them to provoke Him; instead of teaching them to honour God, you teach them to blaspheme Him; instead of leading them the way to Heaven, you lead them the way to Hell; and you will increase your own damnation, by furthering theirs, which God forbid you should ever do!

“Now, that you may the better give a good example to your family, I will (by God’s help) give you a method of daily devotion, taken for the most part out of the Catechism, which will be suitable to all Christians, be they never so well instructed, and which you may by little and little teach your children; and which those who have been bred up in ignorance, and are children in understanding, and yet willing to be taught, may learn to say also, as the capacities of either do increase: for a Christian must never stand at a stay, but

must be always 'growing in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.'"

Then he gives them "A Method of Daily Prayer," being appropriate forms for all occasions. "*As soon as ever you awake, offer up your first thoughts and words to God, saying,*" &c. "*As you are rising, say,*" &c. "*As soon as you are dressed, kneel down, as our Saviour Himself kneeled at His prayers, and remember you are in God's presence, and say your prayers with reverence and devotion.*" "*After the like manner you may pray at night.*" "*As you are going to bed, say,*" &c. "*As you began the day, so end it with glorifying God; and when you are in bed, say,*" &c. Then he adds ejaculations "*at going out,*" "*at coming in,*" "*at meals,*" "*at work,*" "*in the shop or market,*" "*in temptation or danger,*" "*at any time of the day;*" and thus concludes,

"You that have families I do further exhort that, besides your private prayers, you would offer up to God a morning and evening sacrifice in your families, and that every one of you would take up the holy resolution of Joshua, 'as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord:' and the prayers I advise you to use are taken out of the Common Prayer, as being most familiar and of greatest authority withal.* If any of

* This was also George Herbert's opinion: for when Mr. Duncan came to visit him in his last sickness, at the instance of his friend Nicholas Ferrar, after some discourse of Mr. Ferrar's holy life, and the manner of his constant serving God, "he said to Mr. Duncan, 'Sir, I see by your habit that you are a priest, and I desire you to pray with me:' which being granted, Mr. Duncan asked him 'what prayers?' To which Mr. Herbert's answer was, 'O Sir, the prayers of my mother, the Church of England: no other prayers are equal to them. But at this time, I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint.'"—Walton's Life of George Herbert. See also Dr. Gauden's Life of Bishop Brownrigg, 1660, p. 169; and Jeremy Taylor's Funeral Sermon on Sir George Daltone, in Eden's Edition of his Works, vol. viii. p. 566.

your family are gone abroad to their work before the rest can be ready, call that little congregation about you that is at home; and you that are present, pray for those that are absent; and by this means, those that are absent upon necessary employments will share in the blessings for which you pray. God of His infinite mercy bless these instructions to His Glory, and to the furtherance of your devotion, through Jesus the Beloved. Amen, Amen."

The ancient city of Bath, with its "narrow uneven and unpleasant streets,"* was very inferior to what it now is, with its squares, and terraces, noble crescents, and agreeable gardens. It was not yet under the fashionable dominion of Beau Nash, nor celebrated by the pen of Anstey: but it was a place of courtly resort for the gay as well as for the sick. Evelyn mentions, some years previous, "the idle diversions of the town, where we trifled, and bathed, and intervisited with the company, who frequent the place for health."† As early as 1180 "the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, and a small Chapel, had been founded by a former Bishop of Bath, for the benefit of the sick and aged poor."‡ Ken's limited means did not allow him to do more than maintain an occasional patient at the baths;§ but he seems to have always considered his work incomplete, whilst any who came within the range of his influence, for however short a time, were unprovided with prayers, suited

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 289.

† Ibid.

‡ Preface to Markland's Edition of these Prayers; prefixed to his Life of Ken.

§ Thomas Guidott's Register of Bath, containing an account of Cures performed by the famous hot waters of Bath. Gough's British Topography: Edit. 1780, vol. ii. pp. 197-8.

to their peculiar case. Seeing therefore that many of the rich, as well as the poor, came to the Bath waters for the recovery of their health, he put forth another Manual, being "*PRAYERS for the use of all Persons who come to the Baths for cure.*" He would fain make those medicinal waters refreshing springs of spiritual consolation to them. He thus begins his Address to the sick,—

"GOOD CHRISTIAN BROTHER OR SISTER,

"Whatsoever the calamity be, which brings you to this place, I am sensible how tender a regard I ought to have for you, *since you are come within my fold*, in imitation of our most merciful REDEEMER, who in respect even of our bodily distempers, sympathized with our miseries, bore our griefs, and carried our sorrows.* For this reason I could not satisfy myself by daily praying for you, as I do, unless I did also send you these directions and prayers, which are few, and short, and familiar, suitable to the infirmities of your condition, and which I hope by GOD's blessing may be words spoken in season; nor can I doubt but that all of you who want such helps will seriously peruse them, and observe the advices of your spiritual physician, as you are wont to do your bodily one.

"Do not think that the Baths can do you any good without GOD's immediate blessing on them, for it is GOD that must first heal the waters before they can have any virtue to heal you. The River Jordan could never have cleansed Naaman of his leprosy,† had he washed himself in it seventy times seven times, had not GOD blessed it to his cleansing. The Pool of Siloam could never have restored sight to one born blind, had not our LORD sent him to it.‡ And the Pool

* Isaiah, liii. 4. Matt. viii. 17.

† 2 Kings, v. 10.

‡ John, ix. 7.

of Bethesda could never have made sick persons whole, but that an angel was sent by GOD to trouble the waters.*

"I cannot, then, do better than send you to that angel, who, according to St. John, lies in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach to them that dwell on the earth, saying with a loud voice, "*Fear GOD, and give glory to Him; and worship Him that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.*"† This was the angel's sermon, and I beseech you to become his hearers, and to observe how, after the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, he particularly mentions the springs or fountains of waters, as a very wonderful part of the creation; for out of the dark places of the earth, through passages, and from causes unknown to the search of the wisest of men, GOD makes sweet and fresh springs to rise, to water the earth, to give drink to every beast of the field, and to supply all the necessities of human life; and springs of different kinds, some to allay our thirst, some to cure our diseases.

"Look, therefore, on the Bath as a very admirable and merciful work of Divine Providence, designed for the good of a great number of infirm persons, as well as of yourself. Praise and adore GOD, Who has signally manifested His power, and His mercy, in creating so universal a good; and the first thing you do, when you are come to this place, worship GOD who made these fountains.

"To this end you may use the following form at your first coming, and all the time of your stay: and observe that this and all the other forms which you find here, are penned in distinct parts, on purpose that you may choose those which are most suitable to your condition, or recite one at a time, if your weakness will not bear any longer exertion of your mind."

He then gives them forms of "Thanksgivings," "Prayers for Amendment," "Prayers for the

* John, v. 4.

† Rev. xiv. 7.

Rich," "Prayers for the Poor," "Exhortations," and "Ejaculations" suited to their various circumstances. One of these is remarkable: "O my Father, if it be Thy blessed will these waters should not be effectual to me, make them effectual to all other infirm persons besides. I will rejoice in Thy goodness for removing their affliction, I will acquiesce in Thy goodness for continuing mine." Such were the Bishop's unwearied endeavours to make men devout. He seemed to fear nothing so much as to lose irrevocable opportunities of doing good.

About the same time he was engaged with Archbishop Sancroft, Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, Turner of Ely, and Lloyd of St. Asaph, in framing "*Articles for the better regulation of Ordinations, and Institutions, and other admissions to Cure of Souls, into which much abuse and uncanonical practices have lately crept.*"* They "mutually and solemnly promised for themselves respectively to one another," that these Articles, being ten in number, should be their guide as to the ages, qualifications, previous residence in their Dioceses, testimonials, &c. of candidates for Holy Orders; "to the end that there may be sufficient moral assurance to the Bishop, by competent witnesses, of the good life and conversation of the persons to be ordained for full three years last past." These Articles are among the Tanner MSS. in the handwriting of Sancroft, signed by Ken and the others. The collection in which the document is preserved abounds with letters

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, vol. i. p. 213; and Cardwell's *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 354.

from the several Bishops to Sancroft, showing the strict attention which he exacted from his suffragans in all matters of ecclesiastical discipline, and their willing obedience.

Ken was again, more than once in the course of this year, called away for very short periods. Parliament had been prorogued on the 2nd of July, in consequence of Monmouth's rebellion, the King judging it needful that the members should repair to their respective counties. They were appointed to meet again on the 4th of August: Ken was present in the House of Lords, but only for one day, as a further adjournment immediately took place to the 9th of November. We find him at Winchester on the 16th of September, when the conversation took place between the King, Lords Feverham, Arran, himself, and others, about the *Saludadores* in Spain, and the extraordinary cure of "the sick and decrepid child."* This was near the time when Judge Jeffreys, on his return from Devon, was to visit Wells in his Circuit of the "Bloody Affizes," for the trial of Ken's unhappy people. We can scarcely doubt that his object in waiting upon the King at Winchester was to plead once more, and in person, for mercy towards them. Whether the King or Jeffreys was the more deeply responsible for those atrocities, it is certain they were willing accomplices at the time. Each afterwards laid the blame on the other, and both deserved the fate that was reserved for them.

It appears, by the Journals of the House of Lords,

* See *anti*, page 99; and Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 229.

that Sancroft and Ken again attended Parliament from the 11th to the 17th of November. On the 20th the King, finding that the Houses were much dissatisfied with his employing Popish officers in the army, contrary to law, again prorogued them to the 10th of February: but he never permitted them to meet afterwards.* His resolution to govern without Parliament led to his downfall. Ken returned once more to his Diocese, and to renewed energies in the great work of the Pastoral care. His tenderness and condescension conciliated all ranks: he spared no labour or persuasion to establish a unity of affection between the clergy and their people. No ministerial office was beneath his care. Not only in his Cathedral city did he ordain, confirm, and catechise; but "*in the summer time he went about to the large Parish Churches, where he would preach twice, and catechize the children.*"† These labours made him venerable in the eyes of all men. He had no time to court the society of the great, being intent on the thorough fulfilment of his duties, in which he still thought himself always defective. His own self-denial, and strictness of life, added force to all his exertions for maintaining ecclesiastical discipline, and for ordaining proper men to the offices of the Church, of which he gave a faithful account to his Metropolitan, Archbishop Sancroft.‡

He was the common father of all his people; but

* Thus in the whole of the reign of James, being nearly four years, Parliament only sat for about sixty days.

† Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 14.

‡ *Prose Works of Ken*, by Round, p. 39.

the poor in Wells were the especial objects of his Christian sympathy. Hawkins says,

“By his instructions and example he aw’d men into a sense of religion and duty. He often deplor’d the condition of the poor at Wells, who were very numerous. And as he was charitably disposed, so he was very earnest in contriving proper expedients of relief for the needy; and thought no design could better answer all the ends of charity than the setting up a Work-house in that place. But judging it not practicable without the advice, or at least the assistance, of the Gentlemen, he therefore often met and consulted with them; but not finding any suitable encouragement, he was forced to desist. In this he had a double view; to rescue the idle from vicious practice and conversation, and the industrious from the oppression of the tradesmen, who, to use his own expression, *did grind the face of the poor, growing rich by their labour, and making them a very scanty allowance for their work.*”*

In the midst of these peaceful labours of the Bishop for the good of his people, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. and the sufferings of the French Huguenots compelled the attention of all Europe. A century before, in the reign of Charles IX., France had perpetrated the barbarous slaughter of St. Bartholomew’s day,† when 30,000 Protestants were sacrificed to Papal fanaticism and cruelty:‡

“When intelligence of the massacre [St. Bartholomew’s] was first announced at Rome, the Vatican gave loose to unbounded joy. The Pope and Cardinals proceeded at once from the Conclave in which the King’s despatches had been read, to offer thanks before the altar for the great blessing

* Hawkins’s Life of Ken, p. 16.

† 24th August, 1572.

‡ Memoirs of Sully. English edition, 4to, 1761, vol. i. p. 460.

which heaven had vouchsafed to the Romish See, and to all Christendom. Salvoes of artillery thundered at nightfall from the ramparts of St. Angelo: the streets were illuminated, and no victory ever achieved by the arms of the Pontificate elicited more tokens of festivity."*

In the collection of Papal Medals in the British Museum, we have a silver, and also a copper, specimen of the medal, which Pope Gregory XIII. caused to be struck in honour of this sanguinary triumph over heretics, thus perpetuating to future ages the cruelty of the Church and Court of Rome.†

Some years after this fearful event, the Edict of

* Smedley's *Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. ii. p. 34. See Strype's *Life of Archbishop Parker*, fol. 174, p. 351, for the Papal Bull giving order for a Jubilee.

† A vignette of the Papal medal is given as a head-piece to the *Epitome of the 49th Book of De Thou*, in the 3rd vol. of the London edition of his *History*. The obverse bears the Pope's head; the reverse an angel carrying a sword in his right hand, a crucifix in the left, employed in the slaughter of a group of both sexes. The legend is, *UGONOTTORUM STRAGES, 1572*. Smedley's *Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. ii. p. 34. See also D'IIsraeli's *First Series of Curiosities of Literature*, vol. ii. p. 391; and "The Massacre of St. Bartholomew," by Sir W. S. R. Cockburn, Bart., A.M., 12mo, 1840. An engraving of the medal is in the *Frontispiece*. He gives extracts from the numismatic work of "A. P. Philip Bonanni, of the Society of Jesus, printed in Rome, 1699, with permission of the Superiors." In this Romanist work is an engraving of the Pope's medal. Bonanni limits the slaughter in Paris to 4,000, and in other cities and in the provinces to 25,000. He tells of the Pope's solemn procession, thanksgiving, and Jubilee proclaimed to the Christian world, and of his commanding Vasari to paint the death of Coligny and his companions in colours, in the halls of the Vatican, "as a monument of vindicated religion, and trophy of routed heresy." All these he considers "illustrious proofs of the piety of Charles IX., and of the anxious care of the Pope for the Catholic religion." A few years ago, the Rev. C. F. Massingberd obtained several of those medals from the Mint at Rome: but they are no longer to be procured there.

Nantes* secured to the Huguenots, for nearly a century, an uncertain and reluctant toleration. But it was reserved to France, in the polished and luxurious age of Louis XIV., to perpetrate another suicidal and insane cruelty, equalled only by that of St. Bartholomew; for both of which she received ample punishment in her own avenging Revolution. Louis, confident in the success of his ambitious projects for universal power, and prompted by a blind bigotry to exterminate the Huguenots, revoked the Edict of Nantes,† which had been granted for their protection by Henry IV. They were oppressed by a series of the most cruel military executions, known by the name of *dragonnades*; their towns desolated,—themselves put to the most ingenious and protracted tortures;—old men and young were broken on the wheel in the presence of their dearest relatives. Thousands of innocent victims were massacred without fear or remorse. Thus the King consummated a deed of treachery and ingratitude of so dark a hue, that it has left an indelible stain on his own character, and the history of France;—treacherous, because it violated the pledge of a national compact, declared to be “irrevocable,”—and ungrateful towards brave and loyal subjects, whom he had before thanked and applauded for their fidelity to the throne, when menaced by the War of the Fronde. ‡

* The Edict was signed 13th April, 1598.

† The Edict was revoked the 18th of October, 1685.

‡ Louis, on the conclusion of the war of the Fronde, declared that he would maintain the privileges, granted to the Huguenots by his predecessors, and confirmed by himself. “I will take care, he said, that they

The compassion of all ranks was called forth towards these unhappy exiles, compelled by the sanguinary intolerance of their countrymen to take refuge on our hospitable shores. Nor was this the first occasion on which the heart of England had throbbed with sympathy for the victims of Louis XIV. and Madame Maintenon. So early as the year 1681, when "*dragoonings*" and "*booted*" persecutions desolated Poitou, and drove its inhabitants to foreign asylums,—Charles II., by an order in Council, issued letters of denization to more than one thousand of the refugees: he also promised them naturalization, relieved them from importation duties, and commanded them to be received at the outports by all officers, civil and military, with hospitality and assistance. He also addressed letters, on the 22nd July, 1681, to the Bishop of London,—in which the refugees were described "not only as distressed strangers, but chiefly as persecuted Christians,"—enjoined a collection to be made in their behalf by the clergy of the metropolis, and wrote to the Lord Mayor recommending the same charitable object to his influence and co-operation.* And now, when the Edict of Nantes was revoked on the 18th October, 1685, the sympathy and indigna-

are allowed to live upon an equality with my other subjects. To this I am engaged by my royal word, and by the remembrance that I have of the proofs they have given me of their fidelity during the recent disturbances, when they took up arms for my defence, and successfully opposed the evil designs of a rebellious faction. Signed, Louis, Sept. 6, 1666." Benoit, *Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes*; *Preuves*, p. 7.

* Smedley's *History of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii. p. 251; Burn's *Foreign Protestant Refugees*, pp. 18, 20; Sir Leoline Jenkins's *State Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 687, 688.

tion of England were aroused in a manner worthy of a generous people.

Far different from this feeling was the anti-Christian joy of the Pope (Innocent XI.), miscalling himself the "Vicar of Christ,"—the God of Love,—and his consentient Conclave, expressed by a general *Te Deum* throughout the Roman States. He wrote a letter of congratulation to Louis, calling him "our dearest son in Christ," and declaring that "this illustrious act was an accession of immortal honour to all his other exploits. "The Catholic Church," he says, "shall most assuredly record in her sacred annals a work of such devotion towards her, and celebrate your name in undying praises."* James also, amid the general commiseration of his own people for the persecuted Huguenots, felt something more than indifference. At first he was alarmed for the effect which these cruelties would have on the public mind. He feigned pity towards the sufferers, and took measures to throw suspicion from himself. But he was not a man long to conceal his sentiments. If he did not, as some assert,† congratulate the French tyrant on this "victory over heresy," which was declared by writers of that Church to be "greater than all the conquests of

* For ample and minute details of the cruelties exercised throughout France after the Revocation of the Edict, and for a long list of writers by whom they are recorded, see "THE WITNESSES IN SACKCLOTH," 12mo, 1852, "by a Descendant of a Refugee." A description will there be found of the several medals, struck in honour of this "Extirpation of Heresy."

† Lord Londsdale's Memoir of the Reign of James II., 4to, 1808, pp. 39, 40.

Alexander and Cæsar," he took every means in his power to suppress a knowledge of the facts.

The English could not fail to see in all this a clear assurance of their own future fate, if ever Popery should regain the ascendant. Their feelings of pity for the sufferings of those who had sought an asylum among them was so universally expressed, that James thought it prudent to yield to the call of the nation, and at length issued his letters patent* to the Bishops for a general collection on behalf of the exiles. On the 29th March, 1686, Evelyn informs us that the "brief was read in all the churches for relieving the French Protestants." But even previous to this, on the 14th of the same month, Ken's warm heart kindling with indignant emotion at the spectacle of so many fellow-creatures, oppressed by worse than Pagan cruelties, he took the opportunity of his being appointed one of the Lent Preachers at Whitehall to plead for the destitute strangers. It was a bold measure to represent

* The Letters of Lady Rachel Russell contain many allusions to the letters patent, or brief:—"Nov. 1685, I hear our King has given leave for collection for those Protestants which have been drove hither." "15 Jan. 1686, The brief for the poor Protestants was not sealed on Wednesday, as was hoped it would be; the Chancellor [Jeffreys] bid it to be laid by, when it was offered him to seal." "22 Jan., 1686, I am unwilling to shake off all hopes about the brief, though I know them that went to the Chancellor, since the refusal to seal it, and his answer does not encourage one's hopes. But he is not a lover of smooth language; so in that respect we may not so soon despair."—Lady Russell's Letters, 7th edit. 1809, pp. 80, 87, 89. "The Brief had been long expected, and at last with difficulty procured to be published, the interest of the French Ambassador obstructing it." Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 252. Macaulay says, "the promised collection was long put off under various pretexts. The King would gladly have broken his word; but it was pledged so solemnly, that he could not for very shame retract." Macaulay's Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 78.

this persecution in its true colours within the very chapel of the King, who had commanded the clergy simply to read the Brief, and not presume to preach on the sufferings of the exiles.* But nothing could daunt his courage, when a sense of duty impelled him to advocate the cause of charity. Evelyn says :

“ 14th. The Bishop of Bath and Wells preached on John vi. 17, a most excellent and pathetic discourse : after he had recommended the duty of fasting and other penitential duties, he exhorted to constancy in the Protestant religion, detestation of the unheard-of cruelties of the French, and stirring up to a liberal contribution. This sermon was the more acceptable, as it was unexpected from a Bishop who had undergone the censure of being inclined to Popery, the contrary whereof no man could show more. This, indeed, did all our Bishops, to the disabusing and reproach of all their delators ; for none were more zealous against Popery than they were.” †

One of the most distinguished among the Bishops was the intrepid Robert Frampton, of Gloucester, who on the previous Sunday, in the full spirit of his friend Ken, had preached a sermon at Whitehall,

“ Showing that several afflictions of the Church of Christ, from the primitives to this day, applying exceedingly to the present conjuncture, when many were wavering in their minds, and great temptations appearing through the favour now found by the Papists, so as the people were full of jealousies, and discouragement. The Bishop magnified the Church of England, exhorting to constancy and perseverance.” ‡

* Macaulay's Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 78.

† Evelyn's Diary, 14th March, 1686.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 250. Frampton was one of the most eloquent men of the day,—generous, simple hearted, and bold in the cause of the

This sermon was reported to the King, who sent for Sancroft, and complained of its offensive freedom. Frampton hearing of this, after he had returned to Gloucester, thus writes to the Archbishop:

“May it please your Grace,

“I heare that your Grace was sent for by his sacred Majesty concerning my sermon, that I preacht at Whitehall. I am not conscious to my selfe of any one word spoken in it, by which I might give his sacred Majesty an offence. I am sure, much was sayd, to his Majesty’s service and honour. Nor am I afraid or ashamed, to shew what I said to his sacred Majesty, your Grace, or any other person in the world.

“*That I spake much to the honour of my deare Mother, the Church of England, is very true, and I shall never repent of it.* I take it for granted that his sacred Majesty, being a most generous Prince, will never have the worse opinion of me for it. But these things are in God’s and his Majestye’s disposal, to which I most humbly and heartily submit, being obedient to both to the best of my skill, and always ready to shew my selfe your Grace’s

“Affectionate and humble son and servant,

“ROBERT GLOUCESTER.*

“Gloucester,

Mar. 27.

86.”

No sooner was the King’s Brief issued for the Collection than Ken addressed the following letter of charitable exhortation to the clergy of his own diocese:—

“ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.”

“Sir,—His Majesty in these letters patent, which I now

Church and of truth. We shall hereafter have a more particular account of him, when circumstances of difficulty and fellow-suffering brought him into still closer connexion with Ken than before.

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxx. fol. 7.

send you, having given a fresh and great assurance of his graciousness to his own subjects, in shewing himself so very gracious to Protestant strangers, and having required me to give *a particular recommendation and command* to my brethren of the clergy within my diocese, *to advance this so pious and charitable a work*; I think it my duty, with my utmost zeal to further so God-like a charity, and I do, therefore, strictly enjoin you, that you most *affectionately and earnestly persuade, exhort, and stir up all under your care, to contribute freely and cheerfully to the relief of these distressed Christians*, and to do it with as well tim'd an expedition as you can. And that his Majesty's royal goodness may have its full effect, I beseech you, for the love of God, to be exemplarily liberal towards them yourself, according to your ability, remembering how blessed a thing it is to be brotherly kind to strangers, to Christian strangers, especially such as those whose distress is very great, and is in all respects most worthy of our tenderest commiseration; and how our most adorable Redeemer does interpret, and does proportionably reward, all the good we do to them as done to himself. God of his infinite mercy inspire this fraternal charity into your own soul, and into the souls of all your parish.

“Your affectionate friend and brother,

“THO. BATH AND WELLS.*

“Wells, April 15th, 1686.”

We might expect, that when he, who “was a common father to all the sons and daughters of affliction,”† invited his clergy to set their parishioners a

* Ken's Prose Works, by Round, p. 483.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 22. We have seen (*antè*, p. 231) how his earlier charities had kept him so poor, that he was obliged to accept a sum of money, which Mr. Francis Morley offered to lend him, to defray the expenses attendant on his becoming a Bishop. One of his Chaplains, Dr. Thomas Cheyney, often heard him “complain, that for

liberal example, he would himself be foremost in such a race of charity. Accordingly, we have a remarkable act of munificence recorded of him, which appears to belong to this period of his life. As if to enable him to perform a work of love so near to his heart, on a scale far beyond his ordinary means, it is recorded that, having "*received a fine of four thousand pounds, great part of it was given to the French Protestants.*" *

The contributions from all classes of the people, in all quarters, were as prompt as they were large. On the 20th April, 1686, Bishop Barlow, the tolerant, but servile, successor of Sanderson in the see of Lincoln, writes with astonishment at the sums already received, and declares,—“when I further consider his Majesty’s (not liberal, but) magnificent charity in subscribing 1500*l.*, and some others, by his example, subscribing 1000*l.*, some 500*l.*, some 300*l.*, some 200*l.*, &c. (such sums as were never subscribed to any brief before); and when I consider the strange cheerfulness

this very reason *no great matter was to be expected from him* [in the way of gifts]; as thinking himself obliged to be just before he could be charitable.” Hawkins’s *Life of Ken*, p. 20.

* Hawkins’s *Life of Ken*, p. 22. Baxter might well have spared his memorandum made about the end of 1684:—“Many French ministers, sentenced to death and banishment, fly hither for refuge, and the Church men relieve them not, because they are not for English diocesans and conformity; and others have many of their own distressed ministers and acquaintance to relieve, that few are able.” *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, part iii. p. 200. We are told of Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, who died March 26, 1684, that he bore “his share *with other Bishops* in yearly pensions to foreign converts,” and gave “to French Protestants large sums.”—*Life of Bishop Rainbow*, 1688, pp. 107, 109. Tillotson, then Dean of Canterbury, was most zealous in promoting the contributions; and his well-known, but most illogical, reply to Beveridge, that *charity is above rubrics*, has reference to these briefs.—Birch’s *Life of Tillotson*, 1752, p. 131.

of all people to contribute, with a far more than usual liberality: I say, when I consider these particulars, I cannot chuse but impute such a cheerfulness, such extraordinary and great contributions to the Divine Providence, and the immediate hand of God, making all people willing to relieve their persecuted brethren.”* Sir William Coventry, uncle of Lord Weymouth, closed his distinguished career in the summer of this year, and bequeathed 3000*l.* to redeem slaves, and 2000*l.* to the French refugees.†

The result of the whole collection has been thus compendiously recorded by the laborious Strype:

“The state of the poor French Protestant refugees, *Anno* 1687, was this. Their numbers that were relieved by a brief that year were 15,500 persons; whereof 13,500 were in and about London, and 2,000 in several sea-port towns. Of these were 140 families of persons of quality; 183 ministers with their families; 144 families of lawyers, physicians, merchants, and citizens; the rest, artificers, huf-

* Genuine Remains of Dr. Thomas Barlow, late Lord Bishop of Lincoln, 1693, p. 264. A particular instance will describe this time still more vividly:—Whiston (*Memoirs*, 1749, p. 11), whose father was Rector of Norton, in Leicestershire, thus recalls the period:—“I remember that, some time before his death, great numbers of French refugees came over hither, at the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, 1685. This so greatly affected him, that considering them as confessors for religion, as they really were, he preached several sermons to his small parish, to excite them to an uncommon liberality on that occasion. In particular, he told them from the pulpit, which I myself heard, that he intended himself to give them six pounds. By which means, I believe, the parish of Norton made up a greater sum than perhaps any other in the kingdom of no larger wealth and magnitude.”

† Lady Russell's Letters: Letter xxxv., dated 11th July, 1686. Collins's Peerage, edit. 1735, vol. ii. p. 506. He died on June 23rd. For many other details of the Huguenot exiles, and the subscriptions for their relief, see Burn's Hist. of Foreign Protestant Refugees, 8vo, 1846, the first seven chapters.

bandmen, &c. And considerable numbers of them more were still at that time coming over. The collection that was made for them in London, and other parts of the nation in the abovefaid year, 1687, amounted to 40,000*l.* paid into the Chamber of London; and not long after 2000*l.* more was paid in. Fifteen French Churches, or convenient places for the worship of God, were erected by means of this collection, viz., three in London, and twelve in several counties; besides those great numbers before-mentioned, relieved thereby." *

"Perhaps," observes Mr. Macaulay, "none of the munificent subscriptions of our own age has borne so great a proportion to the means of the nation." The Court, however, viewed the popular feeling, from which all this bounty flowed, with ill-disguised aversion and dread. The French Ambassador also was secretly chagrined at the comment on his master's conduct, conveyed in this national almsgiving; and, at his instigation, the King, overruling even the hesitation of Jeffreys, ordered the translation of Monsieur John Claude's book,† which set forth the sufferings of the Huguenots, to be burned by the common hangman. The Court of France was compelled to submit to the silent rebuke of the English Envoy, Sir William Trumbull, who had harboured many of the refugees, and protected and saved their property: nor did James venture to

* Stowe's Survey of London, continued by the Rev. John Strype, A.M., edit. 1720, vol. ii. book v. p. 303.

† "AN ACCOUNT of the *Persecutions* and Oppressions of the Protestants in France [written originally in French by Monsieur Claude, and translated by Dr. Tenison]. Printed in the year 1686." No printer's name is attached.

disown, or recall him for acting this compassionate part. He had in vain endeavoured to silence the pulpits on the same subject, and to prevent them from reflecting on the atrocities of the French Monarch. Unable to arrest the current of the national charity, his Chancellor interfered with the distribution of it, admitting none that did not take the Sacrament from his own Chaplain, and sending many away with sad hearts.* Perhaps there was a cruel irony in the exaction of this test; for, on a similar occasion in the year 1681, when collections were made in London for the French Protestants, an outcry had been raised that many of these were Papists in disguise, and none were admitted to a share of relief, unless they presented proofs that they professed the Reformed Faith, and that they had partaken of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: and it is stated that a similar rumour was now revived, and the belief entertained that the large sums collected were to be diverted by James to the maintenance of his Popish adherents.†

But all these ungenerous obstacles were soon swept away by the irresistible impulse of the national will: and further briefs, and further large collections, even during the reign of James, testified to the unabated benevolence, and Protestant feeling of England. During the following reign, royal proclamations, acts of Parliament, and various measures of relief were

* Macaulay's History of England, 5th edit., vol. ii. p. 778. Evelyn's Diary, 5th May, 1686. Burnet's Own Time, fol., p. 769. Lady Russell's Letter to Dr. Fitzwilliam, 14th April, 1686.

† Smedley's History of the Reformed Religion in France, vol. iii. pp. 252, 280.

framed to meet the necessities of successive exiles, flying from this second and more protracted St. Bartholomew. In particular, on the opening of a new Parliament, in November 1695, William called attention to the miserable circumstances of the French Protestants, who were suffering for their religion, and the Commons voted fifteen thousand pounds a year for their relief.* Even down to so late a period as 1829,† and perhaps even later, traces of Parliamentary aid to "poor French Protestant refugee clergy," and "poor French Protestant laity," may be found in the annual votes of supply. Nor has England shown herself so exclusively grateful for the inestimable blessing of her Reformation, as to deny her charity to those of a hostile and perpetually aggressive Church. She may point with one hand to the Protestant refugees from the Netherlands, France, the Palatinate, and all Europe, receiving succour and shelter beneath her flag; and with the other, to the Roman Catholics of then bigoted Lisbon, assisted with the unanimous Parliamentary gift of 100,000*l.*, when the desolating earthquake of 1755 fell upon them,‡—and to the Roman Catholic clergy of revolutionary France, when persecuted, in their day, like the Huguenots of old. §

* Chandler's Commons' Debate, vol. iii. pp. 2, 23. Burn's Foreign Protestant Refugees, pp. 21, 22.

† Calamy's Life and Times, vol. ii. p. 468, Mr. Rutt's note. See also Ibid. pp. 42, 227, for allusion to the "poor Palatines."

‡ Lord Mahon's History of England, &c., 8vo. vol. iv. p. 91.

§ See the case of the suffering clergy of France, refugees in the British dominions; supposed to have been drawn up by Mr. Burke, and distributed in September, 1792.—Annual Register, 1792, p. 122.

From this view of an event, which so conspicuously elicited the bounteous spirit of Ken, and bore such witness to the apostolic stewardship of the revenues of his see, we turn to his conduct in a less public sphere. Unmeasured as was his bounty to a whole community of sufferers, and earnest as he was in advocating their cause, he still found time to be gracious and charitable to the meanest individual. We are often ready enough by contributions of money, which occasion us no sensible privation, to excuse ourselves from the harder duty of giving our time and personal care to those who are in need. Ken never lost the opportunity of discoursing kindly and patiently with the lowest who approached him. "He had a very happy way of mixing his spiritual with his corporal alms. When any poor person begged of him, he would examine whether he could say the Lord's Prayer or Creed."† He had a very tender regard for every sheep of his flock. "The shepherd," says St. Chrysostom, "leaving the ninety and nine, did not return till he had completed his number, by recovering that sheep that was lost. Tell me not it is only one: remember that it is a soul for which all things visible were made: for which laws were given, miracles wrought, and mysteries effected; for which God spared not his own

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 22.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 12.—In this, as in many other particulars, he resembled George Herbert, who would allow no thanks to himself for the alms he bestowed; but would have them say, "God be praised, God be glorified." "So doth he also, before giving, make them say their prayers first, or the Creed, and ten commandments; and as he finds them perfect, rewards them the more. For other givings are lay and secular; but this is to give like a priest."—*The Parson's Charity.*

Son. Think how great a price has been paid for this one sheep, and bring him back to the fold." In the same spirit Hammond says, "Oh what a glorious thing, how rich a prize for the expense of a man's whole life, were it to be the instrument of rescuing one soul!"

The rich man's barn, it is said, is the poor man's storehouse. So the Bishop in his palace was the bountiful steward for distributing to every class a portion of his worldly means. He sought out new ways of charity, knowing that the inequalities of life are ordained for the probation of faith, both in those who have abundance, and those who want. He gave largely, for he loved much; he discerned Christ's pierced Hand ever ready to receive the gift, dispensed to the least of His poor ones,—“these My brethren, anhungered, athirst, naked, strangers;” and he heard the voice, “thou doest it unto Me.” His benevolence, too, being that of a cheerful giver, made it an offering of spikenard, doubly precious to Him Who imparts the grace to bestow, and the reward. “When he was at home on Sundays, he would have twelve poor men or women, to dine with him in his hall: always endeavouring, whilst he fed their bodies, to comfort their spirits by some cheerful discourse, generally mixt with some useful instruction. And when they had dined, the remainder was divided among them to carry home to their families.” *

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 14.—Such was the “Courtesy” of George Herbert's Country Parson; “The poor also are welcome to his table, whom he sometimes purposely takes home with him, setting them close by him, and carving for them, both for his own humility, and

Happily this ancient hall in the Palace of Wells remains as it was; and there hangs a portrait* of the good Bishop, with the benignant smile† that beamed from his countenance, when he sat in "cheerful discourse" with his aged guests. Thus literally did he fulfil his Master's injunction: "when thou makest a dinner, or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy

their comfort, who are much cheered with such friendliness." "Having then invited some of his parish, he taketh his times to do the like to the rest; so that, in the compass of the year, he hath them all with him." The same is recorded of Bishop Rainbow: "to those who were indigent he often gave money to oblige them to attend to his instructions," especially his catechizings: "he usually gave 20s. to the poor at Carlisle, when it was his turn to preach there, that his liberality might tempt them to listen to his doctrine." *Life of Bishop Rainbow*, 1688, pp. 50, 68, 106. So also that excellent Divine, John Kettlewell, "most Lord's days had the Clerk, and two or three poor widows to dine at his house; and at Christmas, if he invited no body else, to be sure he entertained the poorer sort of his neighbours." *Life of Kettlewell*, 8vo, p. 125. The poet Wordsworth relates of the Rev. Robert Walker (born 1709, died 1802), justly called the "Wonderful," that in his patriarchal dwelling "every Sunday were served upon the long table messes of broth, for the refreshment of those who came from a distance, and usually took their seats as part of his own household." *The Old Church Clock*, by Richard Parkinson, D.D., 4th edit., p. 31.

* There are at least eight Portraits of him extant, all apparently of the time; viz., in the Palace at Wells,—at Longleat,—in the Refectory at Winchester,—the Warden's Lodge at Winchester,—the Hall at New College, Oxford,—the Warden's Lodge at New College,—at Oriel College, Oxford,—and one in my own possession, of which there are several engravings. In this last he appears in very good company, Archbishop Sancroft being in the middle, with himself, and the other five Bishops who were sent to the Tower, set round in oval medallions. Vertue made three engravings of him; by far the best of these is the frontispiece to his Poems;—another is the frontispiece to Hawkins's *Life*; and a smaller one, much inferior to the others, is prefixed to an edition of his "Manual of Prayer for the Scholars of Winchester College."

† Granger, speaking of the respect in which Ken was held in the court of Charles II. for his unaffected piety, says "the openness of his countenance corresponded with the simplicity of his character."

brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours, left they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made thee. But when thou makest a feast call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind: and thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.*

About this time he was called upon for another Edition of his "Practice of Divine Love." As in the case of his Manual of Prayers he had been misrepresented in "a Popish pamphlet" to hold the Roman doctrine of Invocation of Saints,—so now they claimed him as a believer in the dogma of Transubstantiation. He thus refutes the charge in a preface to the Second Edition:

"The author thinks himself obliged to declare that he does now, and always did, humbly submit this Exposition to the judgment of the Church of England, *conformably to whose*

* Fox, in his Book of Martyrs, gives a charming account of a like trait in the character and conduct of Bishop Hooper:—"Twice I was, as I remember, in his house in Worcester; where in his common hall I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and beset full of beggars and poor folk: and I asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their Lord and master's manner was to have customably to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the said city by course, who were served by four at a mess, with whole and wholesome meats: and when they were served (being afore examined by him, or his deputies, of the Lord's Prayer, the articles of their Faith, and Ten Commandments) then he himself sat down to dinner and not before." Edition 1838, royal 8vo, p. 373. See also Burnet's Life of Bishop Bedell, who "at Christmas time had the poor always eating with him at his own table, and he brought himself to endure both the sight of their rags, and their rudeness." And John Dodd, a Divine whose Puritanism cannot make us forget his holiness, used to bring "many with him to dinner (on Sundays) besides his four or six constant widows." Clarke's Lives of Sundry Modern English Divines, 1651, p. 415.

Articles he desires all good Christians to interpret it: and to prevent all misunderstandings for the future, he has in his revising it made some few little alterations, not at all varying his meaning, but his expressions, to render the whole as unexceptionable as becomes a book, not designed for dispute, but for devotion."

It will be seen by the altered passage in this Edition (published in 1686) that whilst he repudiates the Roman error of Transubstantiation, he conveys his deliberate and confirmed adherence to the Anglican (because Catholic) doctrine of the "*Real Presence*" in the Holy Eucharist.

1685.

O God Incarnate, how Thou canst "give us Thy Flesh to eat, and Thy blood to drink;" how Thy Flesh is meat indeed, and Thy Blood is drink indeed; how he that eateth Thy Flesh and drinketh Thy Blood dwelleth in Thee, and Thou in him; how he shall live by Thee, and be raised up by Thee to life eternal; how Thou, who art in Heaven, art present on the Altar, I can by no means explain; but I firmly believe it all, because Thou hast said it, and I firmly rely on Thy Love, and on Thy Omnipotence, to make good Thy word, though the means of doing it I cannot comprehend.

1686.

O God Incarnate, how the bread and the wine, unchanged in their substance, become Thy Body and Thy Blood; after what extraordinary manner Thou, who art in Heaven, art present throughout the whole sacramental action to every devout receiver, how Thou canst give us Thy Flesh to eat, and Thy Blood to drink; how Thy Flesh is meat indeed, and Thy Blood is drink indeed; how he that eateth Thy Flesh, and drinketh Thy Blood, dwelleth in Thee, and Thou in him; how he shall live by Thee, and be raised up by Thee to life eternal, I can by no means comprehend; but I firmly believe all Thou hast said, and I firmly rely on Thy Omnipotent Love to make good Thy word; for which all love, all glory be to Thee.

Not only this "Exposition of the Creed," but all

his writings, and every act of his life, give expression to his hearty concurrence in the purity and soundness of the Faith, taught in the Church of England. In that part of the "Exposition" which expounds the Creed, he says,

"Glory be to Thee, O God, Who hast made me a member of the particular Church of England, whose faith and government, and worship, are holy and Catholic, and Apostolic, and free from the extremes of irreverence and superstition; which I firmly believe to be a sound part of the Church universal, which teaches me charity to those who dissent from me; and therefore all love and glory be to Thee. O my God, give me grace to continue stedfast in her bosom, to improve all those helps to true piety, all those means of grace, all those incentives to Thy Love, Thou hast indulged me in her Communion, that I may with primitive affections and fervour praise and love Thee.

Here it may be asked, how did he explain the nature of the "*Real Presence*," (as he expresses it in the margin,) in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper? His own words will give a clear and emphatic answer to this question.

"Parts outward.

"Glory be to Thee, O adorable Jesus, who under the *outward and visible* part, the *Bread and Wine*, things obvious and easily prepared, both which *Thou hast commanded to be received*, dost communicate to our souls the mystery of divine Love, the *inward and invisible grace*, Thy own most blessed *Body and Blood, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in Thy Supper*, for which all love, all glory be to Thee."*

* An Exposition of the Church Catechism, or Practice of Divine Love. Edit. 1686, p. 142.

" Invisible.

" O God Incarnate," &c. (then follows the revised passage, given in the last page but one).

" Real Presence.

" I believe, O crucified Lord, that *the Bread, which we break* in the celebration of the Holy Mysteries, *is the Communion of Thy Body, and the Cup of blessing which we bless is the Communication of Thy Blood,* and that Thou dost as effectually and really convey Thy Body and Blood to our souls, by the Bread and Wine, as Thou didst Thy Holy Spirit, by Thy breath, to Thy disciples ; for which all love, all glory be to Thee."

" Lord, what need I labour in vain to search out the manner of Thy mysterious Presence in the Sacrament, when my love assures me Thou art there ? All the faithful who approach Thee with prepared hearts, they well know Thou art there, they feel the virtue of divine Love going out of Thee, to heal their infirmities, and to inflame their affections ; for which all love, all glory be to Thee."

" O holy Jesu, when at Thy Altar I see the Bread broken, and the Wine poured out, *O teach me to discern Thy Body there,* O let those sacred and significant actions create in me a most lively remembrance of Thy sufferings ; how Thy most blessed Body was scourged, and wounded, and bruised, and tormented ; how Thy most precious Blood was shed for my sins ; and set all my powers on work to love Thee, and to celebrate Thy love in thus dying for me.*

" Both kinds.

" Glory be to Thee, O Jesu, Who didst institute the Holy Eucharist in both kinds, and hast commanded both to be received, both the Bread and the Wine, both Thy Body

* An Exposition of the Church Catechism, or Practice of Divine Love. Edit. 1686, p. 144.

broken, and Thy Blood shed: Thy Love, O Lord, has given me both, and both are equally significative and productive of Thy Love: I do as much thirst after the one, as I hunger after the other, I equally want both, and it would be grievous to my love to be deprived of either. *Ab, Lord, who is there that truly loves Thee, when Thou givest him two distinct pledges of Thy Love, can be content with one only? what lover can endure to have one half of Thy Love with-held from him? And therefore all love, all glory be to Thee for giving both.**

“ Benefits.

“ O my Lord, and my God, do Thou so dispose my heart to be Thy guest at Thy Holy Table, that I may feel all the sweet influences of Love crucified, the *strengthening and refreshing of my soul, as our bodies are by the Bread and Wine*, for which I will ever adore and love Thee. O merciful Jesu, let that immortal food, which in the Holy Eucharist Thou vouchsafest me, infill into my weak and languishing soul new supplies of grace, new life, new love, new vigour, and new resolution, that I may never more faint, or droop, or tire in my duty.

“ O crucified Love, raise in me fresh ardours of love, and consolation, that it may be henceforth the greatest torment I can endure, ever to offend Thee, that it may be my greatest delight to please Thee. O amiable Jesu, when I devoutly receive the outward Elements, as sure as I receive them, I receive Thee, I receive the pledges of Thy love, to quicken mine: O indulge me, though but for a moment, one beatific foretaste of the deliciousness of Thy love, that in the strength of that deliciousness I may perseveringly love Thee.” †

As at an earlier date, in his *Manual of Prayer for the Scholars of Winchester College*, he had empha-

* An Exposition of the Church Catechism, or Practice of Divine Love. Edit. 1686, p. 145.

† Ibid. p. 146.

tically explained this doctrine of the *Real Presence*; so now, without any shadow of modification, he repeats the avowal, thus testifying his matured conformity to that Catholic Truth—founded on the clear letter of Holy Scripture,—taught by the most ancient Liturgies, which we may believe to have accorded, in the main points, with the services of the Apostolic age,—unanimously held by the Primitive Fathers,—and expressed in the ritual of our own orthodox Church, in which he lived and died. It cannot be too often impressed on all enquirers after Truth, that in his last will Ken thus expressed himself; “*As for my Religion, I die in the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Faith, professed by the whole Church before the disunion of East and West: more particularly I die in the Communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the Doctrine of the Cross.*”*

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 27.



CHAPTER XIII.

Measures of James II. for establishing Romanism—Ken's Pastoral Letter to his Clergy—His Sermon at Whitehall, upholding the Church of England—His boldness, and eloquence as a Preacher—The King's Declaration of Indulgence.



UBLIC jealousy and discontent began now to forebode a coming storm, which called the Bishop from the Palace at Wells to a more stirring sphere of action. Notwithstanding the King's open profession of Romanism, the people had been at first disposed to trust the promise of his coronation oath, that he would maintain the integrity of the Church of England. Nothing could be more explicit than that oath. The ceremony is thus described by Sandford ;

“ Then the Petition or request of the Bishops to the King was read by the Bishop of Gloucester in a clear voice, in the name of the rest standing by,

“ ‘ Our Lord and King ; we request you to pardon us and to grant and preserve unto us, and the churches committed to our charge, all canonical privileges, and due law and justice, and that you will protect and defend us, as every good King in his kingdom ought to be Protector, and Defender of the Bishops, and churches under their Government.’

“ The King answered, ‘ With a willing and devout heart I promise to grant you my pardon, and that I will preserve and maintain to you, and the churches committed to your

charge, all canonical privileges, and due law and justice; and that I will be your Protector and Defender, to my power, by the assistance of God, as every good King in his kingdom ought in right to protect and defend the Bishops, and churches under their government.'

"Then the King rose from his chair, and being attended by the Lord Great Chamberlain, and supported by the two Bishops (Ken and Crewe), and the sword of state carried before him, he went to the altar, and laying his hand upon the Evangelists, took the Oath following; 'The things which I have here before promised, I will perform and keep. So help me God, and the contents of this Book.' And then he kissed the Book."*

His zeal, however, for the Romish Church soon prompted him to violate this pledge, and engaged him in an enterprize that could only succeed by the prostration of the laws and liberties which he had sworn to maintain. The House of Commons, in the previous reign, had passed resolutions to exclude him from the succession on the ground of his avowed religion. This might have indicated to him the firm resolve of the people to maintain the Anglican faith. But he would risk all, rather than compromise his tenets by any disguise. No sooner was he seated on the throne than he bent his whole mind to the establishment of what he considered to be the only true Church; doubtless from a vivid sense of responsibilities, that lay beyond the "judgment of man's day." So far he challenges our respect. At no period, before or after his dethronement, did he swerve from this fixed principle. He staked his

* King James's Coronation: by Francis Sandford, folio, 1687.

crown in the cause of his religion; and fanatic though he might be, and tyrant as he was, his self-sacrifice was an act of personal devotion. In one of his letters, when Duke of York, he writes, "Pray, once for all, never say any thing to me again of turning Protestant: do not expect it, or flatter yourself that I shall ever be it. I never shall; and if occasion were, I hope God would give me His grace to suffer death for the true Catholic religion, as well as banishment. What I have done was not hastily, but upon mature consideration, and foreseeing all, and more than has yet happened to me."*

James was not wanting in qualities, which in all ages have fitted men to bend others to their own will. He was of undoubted courage in the field, untiring in attention to business, frugal of his revenue, zealous even to hardihood in the pursuit of his ends, reckless of the means for their attainment, decisive, and tenaciously firm of purpose. But with these he had the corresponding faults; being self-confident, regardless of counsel, and therefore precipitate, and forgetful of the lessons of experience. He knew not the art to govern men by their sympathies, their prejudices, and their interests: and he was singularly unobservant of the real character of those about him, confiding where he should have suspected,—mistrustful where he might have reposed the fullest confidence.

Either of his fondly cherished designs would have demanded all the patience and skill of a consummate tactician;—the one being to make himself an absolute

* Lord Dartmouth's MSS. notes on Burnet, vol. i. p. 358.

King over a brave people, whose free institutions were endeared to them by chequered but successful struggles; —the other, to re-establish, under the dominion of the Pope, a worship that had been rendered odious to them by cruel persecutions. The influence he had exercised in the foreign policy of his brother's reign tended to increase the public prejudice against him. Even his own naval battles were coldly thought of: it is true, they sustained the English character for undaunted bravery, but were directed rather to weaken their Protestant allies, the Dutch, than to humble the pride of Louis.

The nation, divided between attachment to the pure and primitive Church of England, and the stubborn spirit of Puritanism, concurred in a hearty repugnance to Romish doctrines and government. All were roused to a deeper aversion by the King's hasty introduction of foreign priests and Jesuits, and of pompous ceremonies, which both parties considered to be an unreal mockery of worship. This was aggravated by a solemn but futile embassy to the Pope, for the avowed purpose of reconciling the three kingdoms to the Roman see. The King pursued his objects with infatuated zeal. He not only dispensed with the assistance of Parliament, and raised a large standing army, but yielded himself to the guidance of a priestly junto, and the interested counsels of Louis, contrary to the advice of the Pope himself, who foresaw the fatal results of so unequal a contest.

The activity, and incessant arts of the Jesuits, to disseminate their publications among the people, are

well shewn in a paper, endorsed by Sancroft, in his own hand writing,

“Audacious attempts of Popish Seducers in London in K. James’s Reign.”

“Books and pamphlets prejudicial to the Church are sold in every stall, cried by Hawkers about the streets, or commonly as Gazets, thrown or brought into houses, or sent by Penny-Post bundles: such as ‘The Touchstone of the Reformed Gospel;’ ‘The Translation of the Masse;’ ‘The Papist Misrepresented,’ &c.”

“Papists bring papers into Coffee houses, and plead the Cause out of them, as out of so many Briefs.

“Papists, both of the Layetie and of the Clergy, offer arguments to the Passengers in Hackney Coaches to Windsor and other places.”*

James proceeded at first with comparative caution in England, where his movements were jealously watched by a more powerful aristocracy, and a more enlightened people. But in Scotland he at once resolved to set himself above the laws, assuming by his “sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, to suspend, stop, and disable all laws, statutes, or acts of Parliament,”† against the Romanists, claiming for them the free exercise of their religion, which by the statutes was prohibited. In Ireland his measures had been already taken with yet greater boldness: the

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxvii. fol. 1. The paper contains also many other curious particulars of the Jesuits coming, in disguise, to sick persons under the pretext of administering physic; &c. &c.

† “2d March, 1687. Came out a Proclamation for universal liberty of conscience in Scotland, and dispensation from all tests and laws to the contrary, as also capacitating Papists to be chosen into all offices of trust. The mystery operates.” Evelyn’s Diary, vol. ii. p. 262.

Titular Bishops had been authorized to hold a general Convention of the Romish Clergy on the 15th of May, 1686. The priests had instructions from their respective Bishops to give an exact list of all the men in their parishes, capable of bearing arms; Lord Clarendon, the Lord Lieutenant, was ordered to dispense with the Judges taking the Oath of supremacy; nineteen Romanists were sworn in as Privy Counsellors;—the corporations were filled with them;—all the Protestant officers and soldiers were dismissed from the several regiments, and Roman Catholic chaplains appointed; “so that I doubt not (says Lord Clarendon on the 6th July, 1686), within a month, or little more, the whole army will be composed, as his Majesty would have it.” Thus “300 officers lost their commissions, and above 5000 soldiers were sent pilgrimizing, having nothing to trust to but the charity of others, which in those times was very cold, answerable to the season of the year, and the climate of the country.”* “Sir Alexander Fitton, a person detected of forgery both at Westminster and Chester, and fined by the House of Lords, was brought out of jail, and set over the highest court, as Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to keep the King’s conscience, having no other quality to recommend him besides his being a converted Papist, and a renegade to his religion and country.”† To complete all, Colonel Talbot, a Papist, a mere soldier of fortune, insolent and unprincipled, was created Earl Tyrconnel, and

* Life of James II., 8vo, 1702, p. 145.

† Clarendon’s Diary, vol. ii. p. 151.

sent over to supersede Clarendon as Lord Lieutenant, and to root out every faith but the Romish.

Emboldened by this success, James made further advances towards the establishment of Popery in England. Five Roman Catholic Lords were admitted to the Privy Council. The Judges were called upon to declare from the bench that the Crown was absolute, —that the penal laws were powers committed to the King for the execution of justice, but not to bind his authority, or prevent his dispensing with them. This was preparatory to the same step he had taken in Scotland. His great object was the repeal of the Test and penal acts against the Romanists, that they might be relieved from the declaration against the Pope's supremacy, on taking any civil or military office. He sent for the principal members of both houses, and received them privately in his closet, endeavouring to persuade them to acquiesce in his measures.* The chief officers of state who refused compliance were removed:† indeed all persons of every class, holding situations under government, who had courage to avow their attachment to the Anglican Church, and refused to comply with his arbitrary measures, were dismissed from their employments.‡ Popish sheriffs and justices of the peace,

* "Most of the Parliament men were spoken to in his Majesty's closet, and such as refused, if in any place or office of trust, civil or military, were put out of their employments. This was a time of great trial, but hardly one of them dissented, which put the Popish interest much backward." Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 636.

† "Much discourse," Evelyn says, "that all the White Staff officers, and others should be dismissed for adhering to their religion." Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 261.

‡ "So furiously do the Jesuits drive, and even compel Princes to

taken from the lowest of the people, were appointed in the counties, as fit instruments for his purpose. Roman bishops were publicly consecrated in the King's chapel, and under the title of "Vicars Apostolical," issued to the laymen of that communion pastoral letters, which were printed at the royal press. Some time before this, the King had received at Court Count Ferdinand D'Adda, "the first Popish Nuncio that had been in England since the Reformation; so wonderfully were things changed to the universal jealousy."*

But the measure which, above all others, brought the nation to a full sense of his designs against the English Church, was the appointment of an Ecclesiastical Court of High Commission, with unlimited powers to reform all abuses, contempts, and offences of whatever nature, to cite before them ecclesiastical persons of every degree or dignity, and to censure, suspend, or deprive them without appeal; and further to alter the statutes of the Universities, and all other corporations, civil and religious. There were seven Commissioners, of whom three were Prelates; Lord Chancellor Jeffreys, "of nature cruel, and a slave of the Court," was appointed always to preside. Thus at once was established an authority, more extensive and arbitrary than the hated Star Chamber, and wielded by the blood-stained hand of one of the most infamous of men.

This Court prohibited the clergy from controverting

violent courses, and destruction of an excellent government in Church and State." Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 261.

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 247.

the doctrines of Rome in their sermons ; the King considering such a topic to be a reflection on his person and government. He had already issued an order to the Archbishops to interdict preaching on disputed points. But the clergy could not be restrained from their duty. Ken, and the other Bishops, who shortly afterwards took so courageous a part in defence of the Church, would probably have been called before this Commission, as Compton, Bishop of London, was, and for the same offence,—(of permitting their clergy to preach against the errors of Popery), had not the excessive indiscretion of James, urged on by the Jesuits, brought him so quickly to his ruin. Numerous letters are to be found in the Bodleian Library, expressive of their resolution to meet this crisis as well as they could, but with constancy ; and they would have followed Compton's example, notwithstanding his suspension, and the threat of deprivation. Sancroft was excluded from Whitehall, for refusing to act as a Commissioner. He had prepared the form of a protest against the jurisdiction of the Court, in case he should receive a summons :* this he intended to deliver by his Counsel, who was to plead his right of exemption, as Archbishop and Peer. Turner of Ely rather recommended that they should answer personally, and make their protest in open Court. The difference of character in these two champions of the Church was exemplified on this, and many other occasions : both were of a resolute courage and constancy ; but Sancroft cautious to a fault, Turner warm

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, vol. i. p. 232.

and impetuous. The following letter from Turner probably expressed the opinion also of his friend Ken,

“ Ely, June 6. 87.

“ May it please your Grace,

* * *

“ Now my hand is in, and freely running on, I'll lay before your Grace one consideration that may bee of use ; My Lord, you have imparted it to me as your resolution, if ever you were summoned before the High Commission, you would not appeare but by your Proctor at first, who should carry them your protestation, already drawne, with a salvo to your rights as Archbishop and Peere. Of this I never gave the least intimation to any body, yet I confesse, I have some misgiving thoughts against these measures. Such a protestation I really thinke is necessary, but whether made by your Proctor, or in Person, That's the question. Just before I left the Towne, I had the honor of a long visit from my Lord Nottingham, and proposed this as my owne scruples, whether in case of summons I should appeare by my counsell, or by my selfe immediately ? His Lordship answer'd, and argued it with me, That the Commissioners being Lords of the Privy Counsell had powers to cite, and the party cited might bee liable, if hee did not personally attend them. This meeting with my owne apprehensions, I thought fitt to offer it againe to your Grace's second thoughts.

* * *

“ Your Grace's most affectionate obedient

Son, and most obliged humble Servant,

FRAN. ELY.” *

While the King's public measures were urged on by an intemperate zeal and precipitancy that ruined the cause he had at heart, he was prompted by the

raſh counſels of Father Petre and the Jeſuits who thronged the palace, to exhibit to the wondering people the moſt obnoxious ceremonies of his religion. As the diſpenſer of all offices of honour and emolument, he might perhaps have gained over many proſelytes by a cautious and watchful policy : but his harſh and imperious nature could brook no conditions, or limit to his will. Determined on the triumph of his creed, extravagant in the aſſumption of his prerogative, and relying on the devotion of the army, he ventured to rend aſunder the bond of union between himſelf and his ſubjects. The moſt faithful of his Proteſtant adherents were ſtartled by a public celebration of Maſs in the royal chapel. Evelyn thus deſcribes the ſcene ;

“ I went to hear the muſic of the Italians in the new chapel, now firſt opened publickly at Whitehall for the Popiſh ſervice. Here we ſaw the (Roman Catholic) Biſhop in his mitre and rich copes, with ſix or ſeven Jeſuits and others, in rich copes, ſumptuouſly habited, often taking off and putting on the Biſhop’s mitre, who ſate in a chaire with armes pontifically, was ador’d and cens’d by three Jeſuits in their copes ; then he went to the altar, and made divers cringes, then cenſing the images, and glorious tabernacle plac’d on the altar, and now and then changing place : the crozier, which was of ſilver, was put into his hand, with a world of myſterious ceremony, the muſic playing, with ſinging. I could not have believed I ſhould ever have ſeen ſuch things in the King of England’s Palace, after it had pleaſed God to enlighten this nation ; but our great ſin has, for the preſent, eclips’d the bleſſing, which I hope He will in mercy and His good time reſtore to its purity.” *

* Evelyn’s Diary, vol. ii. p. 260, 29th Dec., 1686.

Of the violence of the Papiſts, and the arbitrary meaſures of the Court in diſmiſſing from office their opponents of all claſſes, ſome notion may be formed from this letter of Lloyd, Biſhop of Norwich, to Sancroft;

“ Norw. 6. Febr. 87.

“ May it pleaſe your Grace,

* * *

“ The Papiſts here have frequent meetings, and att the ſame tyme they entertayne themſelves by drinking confuſion to all that will not conſent to take off the penall laws; this they do publickly and without any remorſe. They were the laſt weeke intending to draw articles againſt me from ſomewhat I preached here laſt Chriſtmas day; they have had ſeverall meetings about it, as I am well informed by one who is of their gang; how farr they will proceede beſids drincking my confuſion, a little tyme will diſcover.

“ They have their ſpies in our churches, and watch all opportunities for our ruine.

“ There were 6 honeſt men turned out att Yarmouth, and 6 Independants placed in their roome as Aldermen; the ſame ſtorme is expected here, but they ſay it will fall more heavie upon this Corporation. God Almighty have you in His keeping, and I beſeech your Grace’s prayers for

“ Your Grace’s moſt obedient Servant,

“ WILLIAM NORWICH.” *

The clergy perceived that the full eſtabliſhment of Popery was the determined object of all the King’s meaſures. They had ever been firm adherents of the throne,—even to the length of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance. But theſe ceaſed to be a duty, when the very exiſtence of the reformed religion was at

stake: to compromise that would be a betrayal of the Faith they had vowed to uphold. They were under a higher obligation of obedience than any human authority could challenge, and bound to undergo all sufferings rather than violate their solemn trust. It was clear to them that an attempt was made to reftore by the secular arm a Church, which had overlaid the Apostolic Creed with novel articles of belief. They prepared themselves, therefore, to a courageous defence.

In the foremost rank was the Bishop of Bath and Wells. He had lately, on the approach of Lent, addressed a Pastoral Letter to his Clergy, earnestly calling upon them (he says, "I passionately beseech you") to be doubly zealous in the performance of their duties during that season. He pleads his Episcopal authority ("unworthy as I am") for calling upon them to mourn for their own sins, and the sins of the nation, glancing at the public dangers which were now besetting them. He justifies himself by the example of St. Cyprian, that blessed Bishop and Martyr, who from his retirement wrote an excellent Epistle to his Clergy. If his own Letter may not be compared to St. Cyprian's, it breathes at least the same primitive, loving, and pathetic spirit, and cannot be here omitted. It is entitled, "*A PASTORAL LETTER, from the Bishop of Bath and Wells, to his Clergy, concerning their behaviour during Lent,*" and begins as usual,

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD."

"Rev. Brother,

"The time of Lent now approaching, which has been an-

ciently and very Xtianly set apart, for penitential humiliation of soul and body, for fasting, and weeping, and praying, all which you know are very frequently inculcated in Holy Scripture as the most effectual means we can use, to avert those judgments our sins have deserved; I thought it most agreeable to that character which, unworthy as I am, I sustain, to call you and all my brethren of the clergy to mourning; to mourning for your own sins, and to mourning for the sins of the nation. In making such an address to you as this, I follow the example of St. Cyprian, that blessed Bishop and Martyr, who from his retirement wrote an excellent epistle* to his clergy, most worthy of your serious perusal, exhorting them, by publick prayers and tears to appease the anger of God, which they then actually felt, and which we may justly fear.

“Remember that to keep such a fast as God has chosen, it is not enough for you to afflict your own soul, but you must also, according to your ability, *‘deal your bread to the hungry:’*† and the rather, *because we have not only usual objects of charity to relieve, but many poor Protestant strangers are now fled hither for sanctuary, whom, as brethren, as members of Christ, we should take in and cherish.* That you may perform the office of a publick intercessour the more assiduously, I beg of you to say daily in your closet, or in your family, or rather in both, all this time of abstinence, y^e 51st Psalm, and the other prayers which follow it in the Communion. I could wish also that you would frequently read and meditate on the Lamentations of Jeremy, which holy Gregory Nazianzen was wont to doe‡, and the reading of which melted him into the like lamentations as affected the prophet himself when he pen’d them.

“But your greatest zeal must be spent for the publick prayers, in the constant and devout use of which, the publick safety, both of Church and State, is highly concerned: *be*

* Ep. iv. Edit. Oxon.

† Isa. lviii. 5. 7.

‡ Orat. xii.

sure then to offer up to God every day the Morning and Evening Prayer, offer it up in your family at least, or rather as far as your circumstances may possibly permit, offer it up in the Church, especially if you live in a great town, and say over the Litany every morning during the whole of Lent. This I might enjoin you to doe, on your canonical obedience, 'but for love's sake, I rather beseech you,' and I cannot recommend to you a more devout and comprehensive form of penitent and publick intercession than that, or more proper for the season. Be not discouraged if but few come to the 'solemn assemblies,' but go to the 'House of Prayer,' where 'God is well known for a sure refuge;' go, though you go alone, or but with one besides yourself; and there as you are God's 'remembrancer, keep not silence, and give him no rest till he establish, till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.'" *

"The first sacred council of Nice, for which the Xtian world has always had a great and just veneration, ordains a† provincial synod to be held before Lent, that all diffentions being taken away, a pure oblation might be offer'd up to God, namely of prayers, and fasting, and alms, and tears, which might produce a comfortable communion at the following Easter: and that in this diocese we may in some degree imitate so primitive a practice, I exhort you to endeavour all you can to reconcile differences, to reduce those that go astray, to promote universal charity towards all that dissent from you, and 'to put on as the elect of God,‡ holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, forbearing one another and forgiving one another, even as Christ forgave you.'§ I passionately beseech you to reade over daily your ordination vows, to examine yourself how you observe them; and in the prayers that are in that office, fervently to importune God for the assistance of His good Spirit, that you may conscientiously perform them.

* Isa. lxii. 6, 7.

† Can. v.

‡ Col. iii. 12.

§ Ibid.

“Teach publickly, and from house to house, and warn every one night and day with tears; ‘warn’ them to repent, to fast and to pray, and to give alms, ‘and to bring forth fruits, meet for repentance;’ ‘warn’ them to continue steadfast in that ‘faith once delivered to the saints;’ in which they were baptiz’d ‘to keep the word’ of God’s patience, that God may keep them in the hour of temptation; ‘warn’ them against the sins and errours of the age; ‘warn’ them to deprecate publick judgments, and to mourn for publick provocations.

“No one can read God’s holy word but he will see, that the greatest saints have been the greatest mourners; David ‘wept whole rivers;’* Jeremy ‘wept sore, and his eyes ran down in secret places day and night like a fountain;’† Daniel “mourned three full weeks, and did eat no pleasant bread, and sought God by prayer and supplications, with fasting and sackcloth and ashes;”‡ St. Paul was humbled, and bewailed and wept for the sins of others;§ and our Lord himself when he ‘beheld the city wept over it.’|| Learn then of these great saints, learn of our most compassionate Saviour, to weep for the publick, and weeping to pray that ‘we may know in this our day, the things that belong to our peace, lest they be hid from our eyes.’ To mourn for national guilt, in which all share, is a duty incumbent on all, but especially on priests, who are particularly commanded to weep and to say, ‘Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thine heritage to reproach, that God may repent of the evil and become jealous for his land and pity his people.’¶ Be assured that none are more tenderly regarded by God than such mourners as these; there is ‘a mark’** set by him on ‘all that sigh and cry for the abominations of the land,’ the destroying angel is forbid to ‘hurt any of them,’ they are all

* Psal. cxix. 136.

† Dan. ix. 3.—x. 2.

|| Luke xix. 41.

** Ezek. ix. 4.

† Jer. ix. 1.—xiii. 17.

§ 2 Cor. xii. 21; Phil. iii. 18.

¶ Joel ii. 17, 18.

God's peculiar care, and shall all have either present deliverance, or such supports and consolations, as shall abundantly endear their calamity.

“ ‘ Now the God of all grace, who hath called you unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, *make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle you*’ in the true Catholick and Apostolick Faith profess’d in the Church of England, and enable you to adorn that apostolick faith with an apostolick example and zeal, and give all our whole Church that timely repentance, these broken and contrite hearts, that both priests and people may all plentifully sow in tears, and in God’s good time may all plentifully reap in joy.

“ Your affectionate friend and Brother,

“ THO. BATH & WELLS.*

“ From the Palace in Wells,
Feb. 17, 1687.”

Ministrations such as this were best suited to his gentle nature; and he would fain have reserved all his powers to promote the welfare of his diocese. But the interests of the Church now required him to put aside the more congenial duties of consolation and instruction, that he might publicly vindicate her doctrines, though it should be in opposition to the orders of the Court of Commission, and within hearing of its judges.—Being appointed to preach at Whitehall on the 5th Sunday in Lent, he came to London, resolved to bear his testimony to the truth. Evelyn, speaking of the King’s closeting the Members of Parliament,

* A copy of this will be found in the Brit. Museum under the title of Ken’s Pastoral Letter, 13. ^{H.H.} f. 3. It is also reprinted by Round in his Prose Works of Ken, p. 473-9.

to persuade them to his views, and dismissing from their offices all who remained firm, says ;

“ This was a time of great trial ; but hardly one of them assented, which put the popish interest much backward. The English clergy everywhere preached boldly against their superstition and errors, and were wonderfully followed by the people. Not one considerable proselyte was made in all this time.* The (Popish) party were exceedingly put to the worst by the preaching and writing of the Protestants in many excellent treatises, evincing the doctrine and discipline of the Reformed religion, to the manifest disadvantage of their adversaries. To this did not a little contribute the sermon preached at Whitehall before the Princess of Denmark, and a great crowd of people, and at least thirty of the greatest nobility, by Dr. Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells.”†

His text was taken from the Gospel of the day (the 5th Sunday in Lent), St. John viii. 46 : “ *Which of you convinceth Me of sin, and if I say the truth, why do ye not believe Me ?* ”

“ He described through his whole discourse the blasphemies, perfidy, wresting of Scripture, preference of tradition before it, spirit of persecution, superstition, legends and fables of the Scribes and Pharisees, so that all the auditory understood his meaning of a parallel between them and the Romish Priests, and their new Trent religion. He exhorted his audience to adhere to the written Word, and to *persevere in the Faith taught in the Church of England, whose doctrine for Catholic*

* This fact is confirmed by Burnet, in the History of his own Time ; he says, “ very few proselytes were gained to Popery, and those were so inconsiderable, that they were rather a reproach than an honour to them.” Edit. 1839, p. 430. The same was the case during the Great Rebellion. Evelyn’s Diary, 4th Nov. 1684.

† Evelyn’s Diary, vol. ii. p. 263.

*soundness he preferred to all the Communities and Churches of Christians in the world; concluding with a kind of prophecy that, whatever it suffered, it should after a short trial emerge to the confusion of her adversaries, and the glory of God.”**

He might naturally expect that some tale-bearer would report his words to the King; but it does not appear that he received any reprimand for this boldness, as he did afterwards, on a like occasion.

Knowing that his presence at Bath and Wells was essential at that moment of danger to the Church, Ken returned to his diocese immediately after the sermon, although he was to preach again in London the following Sunday. In this short interval he paid a visit to Sir John Trelawney, Bishop of Bristol, a man of the same courageous spirit with himself, but not so tempered by meekness. On his return to town, he was the bearer of the following letter from Trelawney to Archbishop Sancroft:—

“ March 20th, 1687.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ My very good friend, the Bishop of Bath and Wells giving me the favour of his company here, and withall of letting me know he is going hence for London; I should have been very uneasy had I parted with him before I had put into his hands this address of my duty to your Grace, and the assurance that I am not wanting in my prayers for the preservation of our threaten’d Church, and in my best exhortations for the keeping this City very firm to its establishment: and I thank God, hitherto all the designs of addresses and other prejudices have fall’n like water upon oyl-cloth, smoothly received, and going off without making any impression.

* Evelyn’s Diary, vol. ii. p. 263.

" I'll do all I can to keep the Priests hence ; no courage shall be wanting, and if I erre in prudence and conduct, it must be your Grace's, and my orders' fault, in not helping me with directions, having resolutions entirely fixt not to doe anything which may reflect on the interest or honour of our Church, in which, as I had the blessing of initiation by the Baptism of water, I am ready to goe out of it with the other of blood. I desire your Grace's prayers, and to believe me, as I am,

" Your Grace's very dutiful Servant,

" J. BRISTOL."*

The following Sunday, being that next before Good Friday, Ken preached again at St. Martin's Church, on Christ's agony in the garden: his text was St. Matt. xxvi. 36—40. "*Then cometh Jesus with them to a place called Gethsemane,*" &c. Here was a subject to absorb all feelings into a contemplation of the mysterious sufferings of the Son of God. At that sacred season, when the Church commemorates the approach of the death He was to die for all, who could enter into political or theological controversy?

" The Bishop of Bath and Wells (Dr. Ken) preached at St. Martin's *to a crowd of people not to be expressed, nor the wonderful eloquence of this admirable preacher*; the text was Matt. xxvi. 36 to verse 40, describing the bitterness of our blessed Saviour's agony, the ardour of His love, the infinite obligations we have to imitate His patience and resignation, the means by watching against temptations and over ourselves, with fervent prayer to attain it, and the exceeding reward in the end. Upon all which he made most patheticall discourses. The Communion followed, at which I was par-

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxix. fol. 147.

ticipant. I afterwards dined at Dr. Tenison's with the Bishop, and that young, most learned, and pious, and excellent preacher, Mr. Wake."*

We cannot be surprized that one so high in station, so eloquent and undaunted, should draw crowds of people to hear him during the prevailing excitement. But he has deeper and more lasting claims to the confidence of the Church in all times. It was not merely the force of his oratory, his noble images, his seraphic ardour of language, and moving exhortations, that gathered all classes round him, as he set before them the promises and threatenings of the Gospel. These, and his other powers had gained him, even from King James, the character of being the most eloquent preacher of the time:† but there was much beyond these qualities in all he said. The secret of his persuasiveness lay in the sublime mysterious truths, inculcated in every discourse. With a paternal love he drew men to desire the presence of Christ, and the unclouded happiness of the eternal Kingdom. Whilst he expressed a deep and tender concern for the spiritual advancement of the Church, vindicating the truth of her doctrines, and exhorting all men to a holy constancy in her defence, he reminded them that the Church is only glorious, because she is the ordained instrument for drawing men to Him, Who was lifted up for their salvation.

On these occasional visits to London, he was the

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 264.

† King James "usually said, that Dr. Ken was the best preacher among the Protestants, and Father William Hall was the best among the Catholics." A. Wood, quoted by Bowles, vol. ii. p. 69.

guest of his old Winchester friend, Francis Turner, the Bishop of Ely, who had his palace near Holborn, and we find that he used to assist at the services in the Bishop's Chapel. It was about this time that the Princess Anne wrote a letter to Dr. Turner to keep her a place, that she might listen to him :

“ I hear the Bishop of Bath and Wells expounds this afternoon at your Chapel, and I have a great mind to hear him ; therefore I desire you would do me the favour to let some place be kept for me, where I may hear well, and be the least taken notice of : for I will bring but one body with me, and desire I may not be known. I should not have given you the trouble, but that I was afraid if I sent any body, they might have made some mistake. Pray let me know what time it begins.” *

We may well believe how the Chapel was crowded, when it was necessary for the Princess to have a place reserved for her, that she might hear the eloquent author of the Exposition of the Catechism.

Urged on by a blind and infatuated confidence, James now ventured on the great measure by which he hoped to accomplish all his ends ;—the suspension of the Test, and other penal laws against Romanists and Dissenters. Whatever may be our opinion of the injustice of such laws, it is obvious that, having been enacted by Parliament, the King's claim to suspend them by his mere authority was illegal. This had been fully established in the reign of Charles II., who had made a declaration of Indulgence in 1672 : but on the remonstrance of both Houses of Parliament

* Round's *Prose Works of Ken*, p. 208.

cancelled it, tore off the seal himself, and acquainted the Houses that he had done so, with this further assurance, which was entered upon record in the Journals of the Lords, "that it should never be drawn into example or consequence."*

James, however, would acknowledge no law but his own will. Having carried his point in Scotland and Ireland, he published, on the 4th of April, 1687,† a general Declaration of liberty of conscience to all his subjects, proclaiming it to be his "Royal will and pleasure, that the Oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and also the several tests and declarations, mentioned in the Acts of Parliament in the 25th and 30th years of the reign of his late Royal Brother, should not at any time be required to be taken by any person, employed in any office of trust, either civil or military." This Declaration, although it included the various sects of Protestant Dissenters, proceeded from no sympathy towards them: it was an endeavour to conceal his great project of introducing Romanists to all offices of trust, under the mask of a general toleration.

But many amongst the Dissenters, as well as the Roman Catholics, received it as a princely act of clemency: fulsome addresses‡ poured in from all denominations: no language could be too strong to express their admiration of the most enlightened and

* Kennett's Hist., vol. iii. p. 487. 8th Nov. 1673.

† London Gazette of this date.

‡ Three Addresses proceeded from the Dissenters at Taunton,—the Dissenting Ministers of the County of Somerset,—and from Presbyterian Ministers at Bath,—all in his Diocese. Grey's Examination of the 4th Vol. of Neal's History of the Puritans, pp. 415. 6.

generous of Kings, who had removed all restraint from the consciences of his people. Their triumph was exuberant; and not the less because they thought this act of toleration struck at the ascendancy of the Church.* In a letter from Trelawney to Archbishop Sancroft, we have a curious specimen of the way in which these Addresses were manufactured by the dissenting preachers;

“ Bristol, 1st of July, 1687.

“ May it please your Grace,

* * *

“ The phanatiques here are very numerous, and their meetings greate and frequent, but chiefly of women and the meaner sort of people; those of the better rank, even among the Presbyterians as yet, refusing to contribute any money to the building of their meeting houses, and their company to the filling them: and some of them have been *very angry with their teacher, Weekes, for putting their hands to an addresse without their knowledge or leave to do so.* The magistracy of this city are wholly averse to the fanatical mode of addressing, and one of them assures me, if offer'd from above, it will be rejected.

“ My Clergy, God be thanked, bravely refused it, only two in Dorsetshire giving their hands to it,—the one is Pelham, the son of a Cromwellian Major, and he did so out of a natural hatred of the Church, and to show, tho' he lives by her, he was not so truly her, as his father's son; the other subscriber was a Curate to a person who I hope will prevent [anticipate] my dismissal of him. I have given God thanks for this opportunity the begging addresse hath given me of

* Dr. Grey enumerates sixty, and quotes from eight more of these Addresses. The most eminent Dissenters did not fall into the snare. Grey's *Examination of the 4th Vol. of Neal's History of the Puritans*, pp. 408. 418. Macaulay's *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 223. Lingard, vol. x. p. 248.

declaring to the publique, that I am firmly of the Church of England, and not to be forc'd from her interest by the terrors of R. [Royal] displeasure, or death itself.

“ Your Grace’s most obedient Servant,

“ J. BRISTOL.”*

In another letter from Turner, Bishop of Ely, very probably written to Ken, we have further evidence of the determined resolution of the Clergy to stand up against the King’s projects :

“ Ely, Aug. 25, 1687.

“ Most deare Freind,

“ I sent you my hearty respects last weeke from Norwich, where I was uppon a visitt to that excellent good Prelate,† with whom I long’d to discourse uppon the publick affaires. I left him in expectation of being suddenly press’d afresh on the matter of addresssing. I am very full of hopes that since tis putt so hard uppon the City of London to give thanks (not for any gracious expressions in the Declarations, but) for the indulgence its selfe, Nothing less will be demaunded or accepted of us, and then we may fairly and flattery decline it, when once it resumes its first ugly shape, and is taken out of the palliating drefs which has made it the greater snare to many. Wee must be call’d ungratefull if we do not make express acknowledgments for this great Grace of letting loose the King’s and Church’s enemys. I would faine heare from you how the Westerne Bishops and the rest in his Majesty’s Progres have scaped at their enterviews.

“ Your most affectionate friend and Servant,

“ FRAN. ELY.”‡

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxix. fol. 42.

† Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, afterwards a Nonjuror ; who had more of the confidence of Archbishop Sancroft than any other. We shall see much of him by and by as the friend of Ken, though they differed as to the proper course for the Nonjurors to take in the later period of that Controversy.

‡ Tanner MSS., vol. xxix. fol. 64.

James seemed to enjoy a momentary success in fomenting the spirit of jealousy between the Church and the Dissenters. He hoped to make their disunion a stepping stone to the establishment of his own creed. The Dissenters were ready to fall into the snare, forgetting that, if Popery were once set up on the ruins of the Church of England, they themselves would afterwards be an easy prey. But the artifice did not long escape detection. They soon perceived that this sudden toleration was but a pretence. They called to mind the long period of their slights and disabilities at the instigation of James, and how he had always testified his repugnance to their principles. To them he had constantly ascribed his father's death. They remembered also how marked a preference he had always shown to the members of the Church, praising them as good and loyal subjects, faithfully attached to the monarchy. They could not but reflect that a Roman Catholic prince must needs labour to extirpate their tenets, which he pronounced to be heretical; and that they would be the first to feel the consequences of his success. The Church party likewise clearly saw that the King, disappointed of their expected support, wished to undermine their influence by pretending a liberality altogether foreign to his nature. These convictions seemed likely to soften the jealousies of both, and might have led to more charitable sentiments towards each other. But events crowded on so fast, they had scarcely time to do more than indicate a disposition to mutual forbearance, and a united resistance to the establishment of Romanism. The whole brunt of the

contest fell upon the Church, and nobly did she sustain it.

The King, when it was too late, perceived that he had overacted his part : he says,

“ He had much heightened the general disaffection by the great countenance he showed to many noted Presbyterians, who were in outward show grateful for their present ease ; and as it is natural for a Prince to be pleas’d with those who are pleas’d with him, so they were well looked upon at Court, and their counsel made use of in the management of several private affairs, as the regulating Corporations, and the like : but this was the sequel of that train, which his treacherous counsellors had traced out for him, to set those against him, who might otherwise have been his friends, and to court those who, they were sure, never would.” *

* “Memoirs writ of his own hand.” Clarke’s *Life of James II.*, vol. ii. p. 165.



CHAPTER XIV.

Ken's Sermon in the Abbey Church at Bath—The King touches for the Evil in the Abbey—Ken's conduct on the occasion—His letter to Archbishop Sancroft.



THE Bishop, having preached his Lent Sermon at Whitehall, returned as usual to his Diocese: we find him on the following Ascension day (5th May, 1687) in the Abbey Church of Bath, where he preached on Psalm xlvii. 5. "*God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet.*" The Sermon itself is not extant: but we gather some of its principal points from a scarce Tract, published at the time by an Irish Jesuit. The author had been induced by some high praises of the Bishop's eloquence to attend, for the first time in his life, the service of the Reformed Church, being "no less curious than desirous to hear him."

The tract is entitled, "ANIMADVERSIONS, by way of Answer to a Sermon, preached by Dr. Thomas Kenne, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, in the Cathedral Church of Bath, on Ascension-day last, being the 5th of May, 1687:" It is dedicated to the King, and published "with allowance." It begins,

"I was honoured, My Lord, with being one of your Auditors last Ascension-day, in the afternoon, at the cathedral church of Bath. Your Lordship does not, I own, want the

parts of an Orator, and of an Evangelical one too, had you but suck'd your doctrine (as St. John hath done) ‘*de sacro Dominici pectoris fonte,*’ that is to say within the Bosom of his only true Spouse on Earth, the Roman Catholic Church, Mother and Mistress of all visible churches.”

The writer “was much astonished at the odd sight of a preacher beginning a Sermon without making the sign of the cross.” He informs us that the Bishop “was a full hour and a half in chair;”

“I took notice that your Lordship gave a fling at the Pope’s Supremacy, to which you shew’d all aversion imaginable, and that because he is call’d Supreme Spiritual Head of Christ’s Church on Earth. We call His Holiness, it is true, Supreme Spiritual and Visible Head, Vicar of Jesus Christ, and successor to St. Peter, the first visible Head our Saviour hath ordained in his Church. I remember you said that Jesus Christ was, and is, the only Spiritual Head of His Church. You must needs know I admir’d much your vehemency in protesting against that Church, which allows of any Visible Spiritual Head: you flew to such eagerness of contradiction against this Spiritual Supremacy, that I thought you had some solid authority to disprove the pretended abuse, till at last I found you had no such proof in nature.”——

“Let us now come to the controversy of the last part, which was with much vehemency against the Real Presence. I did no sooner hear your solemn protestation against this Holy Sacrament, than immediately I supposed you were an abjurator, ready to swear point blank that Christ’s most sacred Humanity is not really and substantially on our altars in virtue of the sacramental words: for I saw you exhorted with passion your People ‘not to be tottered by every blast of wind, that shall say Christ is on this altar, or Christ is on that altar, for Christ is actually in Heaven, and shall continue there till He comes to judge at the end of the world.’ In fine, I remember your Lordship *protested mightily against Roman*

Catholics for 'coining and forgeing new Articles of Faith, as well in relation to Transubstantiation, as the Spiritual Supremacy, &c.' This is the substance, my Lord, of all the controvertible points I took notice of in your last Ascension Sermon."

On the subject of the Real Presence, he fancies that he has made a discovery of the Bishop's contradicting his previous writings ;

" You are not constant to yourself: for now you receive Christ's Flesh and Blood virtually, now figuratively, another time spiritually by Faith, and in the Exposition of your Catechism you contradict all. Your words, my Lord, are Catholick enough on paper, but quite contrary to what you teach in the Pulpit ; for there you say that the Body and Blood of Christ is verily and indeed taken by the Faithful, and here you say not at all: sometimes one way, and sometimes another, spiritually to-day by Faith only, and virtually to-morrow, and in your Catechism you write ' indeed and verily. ' "

The Jesuit makes another fancied discovery, and therein pays a tribute to the Bishop's holy life at the expence of his candour ;

" Unless I be much mistaken, that day's controversy was in order to take away all suspicion of your being Roman Catholickly inclined: for your Lordship living (as *Seneca* saith) *sine impedimento*, that is to say, without a wife, and having the reputation of one that lives morally well, which is enough for the Rabble* to say you are Popishly affected, you undertook that day's work to take away the scandal, which had no other ground than your good works: thank then, my

* Wood says of this tract, " never was so much ignorance and impudence in so small a Pamphlet expressed, as the true sons of the Church of England usually said."

Lord, your own Church for this abuse, which proceeds from that unhappy Merit-killing doctrine, which drives out of your schools all good Works, and meritorious actions."

It appears the Jesuit could not resist his curiosity to hear the eloquent Bishop on the following Friday, when he preached again; but he bestows only a short notice of reprobation on that sermon;

"To this purpose (of meritorious actions) I remember the Friday following your Lordship used all the means in your Instruction of Faith to persuade your auditors that Abraham's justification was for his faith, and not for his good works: all your proof was, because Abraham believed before he was circumcised," &c. "I think I cannot deal fairer with your Lordship than remit you to the western window of that cathedral, wherein I heard you preach, and there you will find in capital letters your own judgment,* drawn out of the 2nd chapter of St. James, v. 26. 'For as the body without the spirit is dead, so Faith without good Works is Dead also.'"

It is difficult to say who was the author of this Tract. He published only his initials F. I. R., designating himself "a most loyal Irish subject, of the Company of Jesuits."† No doubt he was an attendant of the Queen, who was at this time drinking the Bath waters. He could not perform a more dutiful service to royalty than to attack so eminent a Bishop in his pastoral chair: he "consecrates himself, and this little paper, together with all the faculties of his soul and

* i.e. refutation.

† There was a Father Jo. Reed, with whose name these initials would correspond, living in 1671. He was a Benedictine, and author of a book entitled "*Tabula Votiva*," of which Anthony à Wood makes mention in his own Life: p. 243.

body, to His most sacred Majesty's spiritual and temporal service;" and prays that "your Majesty and your Royal Confort may be settled on a Throne of Glory in Heaven, *after living a full century of years in all prosperity on earth, to the perfect conversion of all your subjects.*"

We shall see how effectually James thwarted the latter part of this good wish by his own intemperate zeal. His object now was to persuade the Parliament to confirm by statute his Declaration of Indulgence. But the Members remained stedfast: he miscalculated the English character in supposing that they would barter their dearest rights for the empty condescensions of the royal interviews, which served rather to confirm their sense of the public danger, than to win their concurrence. If the only high way to his favour lay through Rome, they were not prepared for such a journey. The King, in his Memoirs, says, "the generality of the gentry were so byaced against the Declaration of Indulgence, that when His Majesty thought fit to ask many persons of distinction to make their resolutions therein, he found a much greater reluctance than could well have been imagined; and indeed that method was no ways relish'd by the people."*

The King therefore dissolved the Parliament, and issued writs for a new election. He then set out on a state progress through the Western Counties, in hopes that the royal presence might further his grand project of a new and more compliant Parliament. Before

* Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 143.

this, however, he prepared a splendid pageant for the edification of the people. The Pope was no friend to James's chief counsellors, the Jesuits, and looked with misgiving and suspicion on the issue of their manoeuvres in driving on to a hasty crisis: but he could not resist the invitation to appoint a nuncio from the Holy See. He hoped, perhaps, that the influence of this recognized Ambassador might restrain the reckless zeal of the King. It was contrived that the nuncio, who had already been at court some time, should be publicly received at Windsor the day after the Dissolution of Parliament. To invest the character of Nuncio with more pomp and lustre, he was consecrated Archbishop of Amasia in the royal chapel at Whitehall,* by the Vicar Apostolical in England, assisted by two other Roman Catholic Bishops.† He was now to make his public entry as a foreign minister, and the government itself was to glory in the account of it;

“The 3rd of July, Monsieur Ferdinand d'Adda, Archbishop of Amasia, Domestic Prelate and Assistant to His Holiness the Pope, and Apostolic Nuncio, had public audience of their Majesties at Windsor, being conducted by His Grace the Duke of Grafton, and Sir Charles Cotterell, one of the Masters of the Ceremonies, in one of his Majesty's Coaches,

* Clarke's *Life of James II.*, vol. ii. p. 116.

† The King, in his *Memoirs*, intimates that d'Adda was a very ill-chosen representative of the Pope, unfit for such a function, “being a young man who had appeared at Court for some time in a secular capacity, and very improper to draw that reverence and respect which is due to such a character.” Clarke's *Life of James II.*, p. 116. But d'Adda was probably too moderate for James, and hence, perhaps, this disparaging of him. Macaulay's *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 53. Lingard's *Hist. of England*, vol. x. pp. 197. 206.

with all the honours and ceremonies usually observed on the like occasions," &c. *

No such sight having been seen in England, for about an hundred and fifty years before, the concourse of people on this occasion was without example: yet their surprise at the pomp and magnificence of the solemnity was surpassed by their indignation to behold a Representative of the Pope in all his Pontificals, preceded by a Cross-bearer, and attended by a flock of priests and monks in the habits of their respective orders.†

All now proceeded gloriously, as the Jesuits supposed, for the cause in hand. The King set forward on his progress, accompanied by his court, his Roman Catholic chaplains, Father Petre, and William Penn, the Quaker,—a strange yoking of motley creeds. Who could doubt the liberal sentiments of the royal mind, when such opposite professors were taken into favour? And that he might render himself more popular, he resolved to exercise the gift of "*Touching for the Evil*."

It is surprising to look back, and see how credulous all classes were in the efficacy of this princely prerogative. From St. Edward the Confessor, to the licentious Charles, the unction of the Royal touch was supposed to possess the power of healing the most loathsome strumous diseases: the lame and the blind, the impotent and the idiot, went forth from the King's presence, restored (as even Sancroft believed) by "those very hands upon which God had entailed

* London Gazette.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 760.

a miraculous gift of healing."* We have it on record from one of "His Majesty's Chirurgeons in Ordinary" in a marvellous book, (with a no less marvellous title,† containing a whole alphabet,) that Charles the Second touched above ninety two thousand persons for the Evil, in the course of his reign: the work in fact "carried more of Divinity than Majesty in it; the art of physick was nonplus'd, and Chirurgery tied up; all chirurgeons whatsoever must truckle to the balsamic power; *more souls have been healed by His Majesty's sacred hand in one year, than have been cured by all the physicians and chirurgeons of his Three Kingdoms since his happy Restauration!*"‡

And yet, incredible as this may at first seem, it is capable of a satisfactory solution: for this touching for the evil was attended by all the pomp of circumstance, and made pre-eminently infallible by each of the sick being presented with a gold medal, strung upon a white silk ribbon, and put about his neck by the princely hand. If physicians now-a-days, instead of receiving,

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, Edit. 1840. p. 363.

† *ADENOCHOIRADELOGIA; or an Anatomick-Chirurgical Treatise of Glandules and Strumæ, or Kings-Bills-Swellings*, Together with the *Royal Gift of Healing*, or Cure thereof by Contact or Imposition of Hands, performed for above 640 years by our *Kings of England*, Continued with their admirable effects, and Miraculous Events; and concluded with many wonderful examples of Cures by their Sacred Touch. By John Browne, &c. &c., 8vo, 1684.

‡ Ibid. Third Book, p. 81. See Penny Cyclopædia, article *Scrofula*, for a very curious and rational account of this touching for the Evil. Also Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, fol., vol. i. p. 226. Evelyn says, 28th March, 1684, there was so great a concourse of people with their children to be touched for the Evil [by Charles II.] that six or seven were crushed to death by pressing at the Chirurgeon's door for tickets.

were to pay, a golden fee to their patients, what crowds of hypochondriacs would beset their doors !

Such was the loyal desire of the people to behold their Sovereign's person, and to receive the "salutiferous faculty" of the royal touch, and also to touch the gold of his exchequer, that it was often found indispensable to their perfect cure to undergo the pleasing ceremony a second time. Strange to say, many ignorant people made the mistake of "looking more after the gold than the cure:"—nay, there was another sort, so like "snakes in the grass, that, making it their study to cheat the king of his gold, and having been touched, and received the gold, they were ready to sell and part with it ; and were not this true, and very commonly put in practice, his majesty's touching medals would not be so frequently seen in goldsmiths' shops."*

When the King intended to exercise the sanative powers inherent in him, public notice was given of the time, which was generally on a Sunday, after morning prayer : the physicians and surgeons in ordinary examined the candidates, and delivered out certificates of their being fit objects for healing. At the time appointed, the King "being seated in his royal chair, surrounded by his nobles, and many spectators, the chief yeoman of the guard placed the sick people in a convenient order to avoid noise and confusion ;—one of the chaplains now read part of the Gospels, after which the chief surgeon, making three obeisances, brought each person to the king to be touched ; then

* ADENOCHOIRADELOGIA, Third Part, p. 92.

the Clerk of the Clofet, on his knees, delivered to the king the gold medals, ready strung on the white silk ribbon, which the King would put round the neck of the patients. After this, a further part of the chapter of St. John, with some responses and prayers, were read by the chaplain, concluding with the ‘Grace of our Lord.’”* This being finished, the Lord Chamberlain and two other nobles presented the King with linen, and the basin and ewer, to wash his hands: and so he took leave of the people, and they “joyfully and thankfully returned home, praising God and their good King. Many of which, as if amazed at the speedy farewell of their diseases, have immediately been cured to admiration, even in the presence, before they have got out of the Banqueting House at Whitehall.” This was the usual place of the ceremony, when performed in London: sometimes it was at Windsor; often in the town hall or other public building, even in the church, of the place where the King might be.†

This Royal Gift had become a useful engine of state for strengthening the people’s attachment and veneration for the person of the King. He appeared, on those occasions, like “the rising sun over his people diffusing his healing rays.” Neither the sacred touch, however, nor the royal gold, appear to have had any real influence in mitigating the various frightful symp-

* ADENOCHOIRADELOGIA, Third Part, p. 98.

† An account of Charles II. “touching for the Evil” may be found in *Mercurius Rusticus* for 28th June, 1660. Also in Heylin’s *Examen Historicum*, with the Form of Service. Queen Anne touched, 19th Feb. 1712.

toms of the disorder—glandula, nodus, lippitudo, bronchocheli, atheroma, steatoma; &c. for

“ Although there hath been scarce a city or town, or scarce a street in this populous city, that hath not found the benefit of his majesty’s hand: yet, as if this disease did get a new birth by conversation, it meets the King wherever he goes, with as much vigour and plenty as if the work were now to begin. And as a very strange mark hereof, although I do believe near half the nation hath been touched and healed by his sacred Majesty since his happy restauration, yet upon any new appearance of a fresh healing, they are seen to come in afresh, and as fast, as if not one had been touched by him: a thing as strange as monstrous! Indeed, some having received his Majesty’s gracious touch, and losing their gold, their distemper has *de novo* seized them again; and these also, upon gaining a second touch, and *new gold*, their diseases have been seen utterly to have been chafed away, and they themselves perfectly cured.”*

James, in his progress to the west, reached Bath towards the end of August: notice was given that he would touch for the Evil in the Abbey after morning prayer. He found no lack of candidates for the privilege of the royal gift. That all who approached might receive their cure through faith in the Blessed Virgin’s intercession, a new form of Prayers for the healing, which had been previously published by authority, was here used.† The Bishop was at Wells:

* ADENOCHOIRADELOGIA, Third Part, pp. 105-6.

† The Ceremonies for the Healing &c., used in the time of Henry 7th Published by his Majesty’s Command. London, Printed by Henry Hills, Printer to his Majesty, 1686. “ Then by and by the King shall say, ‘ I confess to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, to all Saints, and to you, that I have sinned in thought, word, and deed, through my fault: I pray Holy Mary, and all the Saints of God, and you, to pray for me.’ ”

hearing of what was going forward, he was in doubt what course he ought to take. He found himself unexpectedly placed in a novel situation. The act of the King in touching for the Evil, with the accompanying use of a Popish office of prayer, was a violation of the laws of the English Church. Yet it was quite beyond the power of Ken to stop the proceeding,—and the very attempt would have created an unseemly conflict: he chose, therefore, to yield to the necessity of the moment, rather than hazard a greater confusion in so sacred a place.

But for fear the use of a Roman ritual in the Abbey should be misunderstood, or the opening the church doors for any other offices than those of the Church of England be drawn into precedent, he preached a sermon, the following Sunday, to explain that the object of the service, being one of charity, might qualify the arbitrary and illegal act. It is probable this was the sermon which is referred to in the traditionary anecdote, mentioned by Warner, who says,

“King James visited Bath in 1687, accompanied also by Huddleston, his confessor. After decorating the altar of the Abbey Church, Huddleston is said to have denounced the heretics, and exhorted them to an immediate change of their errors. Ken was present, and, when Huddleston concluded, mounted the pulpit, and exposed his fallacies in a strain of such impressive eloquence, as astonished and delighted his congregation, and confounded Huddleston, and the royal bigot.”*

The Chaplain shall answer, and say, ‘Almighty God have mercy on you.’”

* Warner's Hist. of Bath, p. 257.

Mr. Markland* reasonably questions the very improbable fact of Ken being present. Indeed it was next to impossible that the Jesuit should ever have preached in the Abbey at all, though he might have helped to deck the altar on the occasion of touching for the Evil.† There is another tradition that the Bishop's voice was deep and sonorous, and could be distinctly heard throughout the Abbey. This receives confirmation from Perkins, the Poet Laureat, who among other encomiums on the "Famous Bishop," says,

"When to the Bath her Royal Highness came,
KENN made the Abbey-Church resound his fame;
Floods of grave eloquence did from him fall:
KENN in the Pulpit thunder'd like St. PAUL."‡

He appears to have esteemed it the duty of a

* Markland's Life of Ken, 2nd Edit. p. 78.

† Even at Chester, on Sunday, the 30th of August, in the same year, the time-serving Bishop Cartwright preached in his own Cathedral, while the King heard Mass at an altar which had been decked in the Shire Hall. Penn at the same time harangued in the tennis court! Macaulay's Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 293.

‡ A Poem (both in English and Latin) on the Death of the R^t. Reverend Father in God, Thomas Kenn, sometime Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, &c. By Mr. Joseph Perkins, the Latin Poet Laureat, 4to, 1711.

"Ad Fontes calidos (memini) cum § Filia Regis
Venerat, Hic ¶ Templum voce ¶ boante replet.
Eloquii fluxit facundo flumen ab ore:
In rostris tanquam Paulus et alter erat."

The fact of Ken's voice being heard distinctly throughout *the Abbey* was communicated to me as a tradition in the family of my informant, the possessor of the original note from Princess Anne to Turner, Bishop of Ely, requesting him "to let some place be kept" for her, "as I have a great mind to hear him." And it appears from Perkins's Poem, that she attended the Abbey, when she was at Bath, for the same object.

§ Her R. H. ¶ The Abbey Church. ¶ Tanquam Boanerges.

Bishop to do nothing of importance without the advice of his Primate: that he might, therefore, be prepared to act with authority, if the same circumstance should ever occur again, he thus writes to the Archbishop,

“ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“My very good Lord,

“Though I have always been very tender of giving your Grace any trouble, yett I thinke it my duty, having this opportunity of a safe conveyance, to acquaint you with one particular, which happened at Bath, and to-begge your advice for the future. When His Majesty was at Bath there was a great healing, and without any warning, unlesse by a flying report: the office was performed in the Church, between the houres of prayer. I had not time to remonstrate, and if I had done it, it would have had no effect, but only to provoke: besides I found it had been done in other churches before, and I know no place but the Church which was capable to receive so great a multitude as came for cure: upon which consideration I was wholly passive. But being well aware what advantage the Romanists take from the least seeming compliances, I took occasion on Sunday from the Gospell, the subject of which was the Samaritan, to discourse of Charity, which I said ought to be the religion of the whole world, wherein Samaritan and Jew were to agree, and though we could not open the Church-doores to a worship different from that we paid to God, yett we should alwayes sett them open to a common worke of Charity, because, in performing mutuall offices of Charity one to another, there ought to be an universall agreement.

“This was the substance of what I said upon that action, which I humbly submit to your Grace's Judgement; and it was the best expedient I could thinke of, to prevent giving scandal to our owne people, and to obviate all the misrepres-

sentations the Romanists might make of such a connivance. I am very sensible of your Grace's burthen, and doe beseech Almighty Goodnesse to support you under it. And I earnestly crave your Blessing, being ambitious of nothing more than to be one of the meanest of your Companions in the Kingdome and Patience of Jesus.

"My good Lord,

"Your Grace's most obedient Son and
humble Servant,

"THO. BATH AND WELLS.*

"Aug. 26th, 1687."

We see in this letter the courageous spirit of a primitive Bishop, deeply concerned for all under his care, unceasingly watchful and active, yet without contention; guided by a holy prudence,—and sensitive to any misconstruction that might wound the integrity of the Church, now put in peril by the highest authority of the land.

Here may be appropriately noticed two other letters of Ken, addressed a short time afterwards to Archbishop Sancroft; one dated the 1st of October, 1687, which exhibits some of the difficulties that he had to overcome in the management of his diocese;

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"Most Reverend Father, and my very good Lord,

"I had made my acknowledgments sooner to your Grace for the favour of your letter, but that I delay'd them on purpose, hoping to have sent them by another hand. In the affair I mentioned in my last, I acted according to the best of my judgment, and that I might give no occasion to any more of

* Bodleian Tanner MSS., vol. xxix. p. 65.

those misrepresentations, under which I have so often, and so undeservedly lay'n. The copy which I have by me I will take care to send by my Secretary, who, God willing, is to be in Towne at the Terme. There are some particulars, especially those which relate to Faculties, which by experience I find not practicable, and many of the Cures in my Diocesse are so very small, that I am very glad to gett a sober person to supply them, though he is not a Graduate; but as for Ordinations, Your Grace may be assured that I endeavour all I can to lay hands suddenly on no man. I am very sensible of the charitable opinion you are pleased to have of me, and the favourable construction you make of my actions: God grant I may in some measure answer your Grace's just expectations. I beseech God of His infinite goodnesse, and in mercy to His poore Church, to give you a super-effluence of His H. Spirit, to assist and support you, and I humbly begge your benediction.

“ My good Lord,

“ Your Grace's most obedient Son and Servant,

“ THO. BATH AND WELLS.” *

The other letter, dated 5th December, 1687, is a meek apology to the Archbishop for having incurred his displeasure about some paper, which had not been returned to him :

“ ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“ My very good Lord,

“ The entire veneration I have ever had for your Grace makes your displeasure the more afflicting, especially so great a displeasure against me, as your letter expresses, and that too for such a crime which I abhorre, no less than insincere dealing, and in the whole, I am so unhappy as to be supposed

* *Prose Works of Ken*, by Round, p. 39, from the Tanner MSS., vol. xxix. p. 79.

guilty by your Grace, and to be treated by you as if I were. But I hope your Grace will have that charity for me, to believe me when I with all humble submission acquaint you, that I never had the originall you mention. And if I had had it, I know not the least temptation imaginable I could have had to have detained it. The onely copy I had I have sent, and I thought it was the same you meant, having, as I understood your letter, lost the other: and I sent it through the Bishop of Ely, because I was tender of giving you the trouble of a letter which might be spared, and I sent it with a particular circumstance of duty to your Grace, that my old friend must needs be very forgetfull, if he gave no better account who it was that brought it, or how it came to his hands. I confesse I should have sent your paper sooner, and so I had done, had not the persons with whome my Secretary was to transact businesse disappointed us, and this, if it be a fault, I presume is a venial one. But how much soever assured I am of my owne innocence, rather than tyre you with a tedious vindication of myselfe, I choose to begge your pardon, as well as your benediction.

“My good Lord,

“Your Grace’s most obedient Son and Servant,

“THO. BATH AND WELLS.*

“December 5th, 1687.”

The difficulty of finding fit Clergymen, of which Ken complains, was then very general in the Church, and was one cause of the laxity of discipline, which was the frequent subject of regret in the correspondence of the Bishops with Sancroft. I have selected the following anonymous letter to the Archbishop, because it gives such a true picture of the unsatisf-

* Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 40, from the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian, vol. xxix. p. 117.

factory performance of the services of the Church at this period :

“ May it please your Grace,

“ Tho’ I chuse at present to wait upon you in disguise, and to speak from behind the curtain (which among other reasons I do, that I may not be suspected of vainglory, or of having any design or interest to serve by this Address, but what is honest), yet I come with as great purity of intention as a dying Penitent unloads the burden of his conscience into the bosom of his Confessor.

“ It will be enough for your Grace to know thus much of me, that I am a member and a Priest of the established Church of England, which I have for several years endeavoured to serve, by my life, and by my discourses from the pulpit and the press, and ’tis my zeal for her Honour, next to that of her dearest Lord, that has made me conquer all reluctance I had, to put this letter into your Grace’s hand.

“ ’Tas been my trouble, and ’tis now my complaint, to see so many of her pious and primitive customs and institutions most deplorably neglected all round about me, in the country where I live, and that I suppose more than in other places, of the truth of which I have at least a moral certainty.

“ 1. The observation of her Festivals is so neglected, that scarce any of my neighbours do so much as bid them, or give notice of them : and myself (to my trouble) have been esteemed a person of singularity for so doing.

“ 2. The Fasts of the Church so totally forgotten, that even Ash-Wednesday and Good Friday are scarce known by the people, or taken notice of by the Priest. Tho if none else, yet methinks, these two should have a little more of our notices. Your Grace has doubtless observed that a late Author* ascribes the preservation of Christianity (next to the miraculous and gracious Providence of God) in the Eastern

* Dr. Smith’s Account of the Greek Church, p.18.

Church, to the strict and religious observation of the Festivals and Fasts of the Church : This (says he) being the happy and blessed effect of these antient and pious institutions, the total neglect of which, would soon introduce ignorance, and a sensible decay of piety and religion in other countrys besides those of the Levant.

“ 3. The neglect of reading the prayers at least Wednesdays and Fridays.—I humbly conceive that a particular injunction for the revival of that custom, or rather for the observation of that Canon, would be a seasonable counterminie to the designs of the schismatical Lecturers on those days.

“ 4. With deference to your Grace, I conceive it would make very much for the honour of the Church, and for the beauty and solemnity of divine worship, if the Communion Service, were ordered by a particular command, to be read at its proper place, the Communion table, and that constantly every Sunday, which is scarce observed by one Person in this country, and the Table generally is not so much as cover'd on Sundays.

“ 5. When there is a Sacrament then there is a most universal neglect of collecting the alms at the Offertory : insomuch that the people generally know nothing of it. And as by the divine aid I have revived that primitive custom in my own Parish, so I believe an injunction from your Grace down to us would yet be successful.

“ My Lord, tho' to my grief I have a sufficient assurance that these things are true, yet I mention them not to the disreputation of my Diocesan, or Arch-Deacon : For whom no man in the Diocese of Exon, or Arch-Deaconry of Barnstable, has a greater love and veneration than my self.

“ My Lord, tho' the bringing a representation of these things before your Grace be a greater indication of the love than the wisdom of the Informer ; yet I hope my zeal for this excellent part of the Catholic Church will atone for an instance of Indiscretion : And also be an occasion of my being

put into your Grace's Litanys, which is humbly and earnestly desired by

"Your Grace's most affectionate honorer, and
dutifull and faithfully devoted Servant,

"THEOPHILUS.*


"Devon. Sep. 1. 1687."

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxix. fol. 71. Dr. Thomas Lamplugh, afterwards Archbishop of York, held the see of Exeter, when this letter was written. For some particulars concerning him, see Burnet's *Reign of James II.*, by Dr. Routh, pp. 257, 375, 504: Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 497: *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, part iii. p. 178: Dean Comber's *Memoirs*, pp. 267, 283-4, 298.



CHAPTER XV.

The King perseveres in his measures for the establishment of Romanism—Ken's sermon at Whitehall, for which he is reprov'd by James—His firm reply.

HE year 1688 dawned upon England as the morning of an eventful struggle. Just a century before, Philip of Spain had threatened the religion and liberties of our country. But how different then was the spirit of the sovereign! Elizabeth, devoted to the honour and interests of the Kingdom, and zealous for the Reformed faith, riding in state to review her armies at Tilbury, inflamed all England to the highest pitch of loyalty and patriotism. James, on the other hand,—a pensioner of France, resolving to extirpate, as an obstinate heresy, the religion in which he had been brought up, and to bend his people to an arbitrary government,—encamped his army on Hounslow Heath, that he might over-awe them into an unwilling obedience.

The same brave and vigorous spirit animated the gentlemen, the clergy, and the people of England at each crisis. It is no vain boast, that in our complex system the character of the English gentry moulds and governs society. Whatever violates the spirit of it offends the public mind. The Prince himself may not deviate from it;—the lower classes know how to appreciate it in those who are above them, and confess to its influence;—the aristocracy, as a class, are its best

exemplars. It is true, indeed, that in every rank of life we have many shades of evil: in all nations the depraved will, the selfishness of the human heart, the deadening power of indulgence, exercise a fearful sway. Still, the character of the English Gentleman is a national character: it may not, perhaps, be easily defined: but it forms the standard to which all aspire; it is a title without which the nobleman is not truly noble, and the denial of which is the greatest insult that can be offered to an Englishman.

Again, throughout the land, whether we regard rank, wealth, education, power of intellect, purity of life, enlarged charity, the spirit of forbearance, the noiseless tenour of a Christian course, devoted loyalty, consistent patriotism,—it will be found that the Church of England (in its close union of Clergy and Laity) is the sanctuary of England, the poor man's refuge,—the rich man's security, the *Ægis* of the throne. To all this James was utterly insensible: his every measure was opposed to the vigorous good sense that characterized his people. He was completely under the dominion of a flock of foreign priests and Jesuits, who vied with each other in driving him forward to a pure despotism, as the surest means of establishing a Popish rule, distasteful to the vast majority of the nation.*

* The following statement of the number of Papists in England, at this time, will enable us to judge of the hopelessness of their case:—

"THE TELLING OF NOSES; or, the Number of *Freeholders* in England, according to Sir W[illiam] P[etty], 1688.

| | Conformists. | Nonconf. | Papists. |
|----------------------|--------------|----------|----------|
| In the province of { | | | |
| Cant. . | 2,123,362 | 93,151 | 11,878 |
| York . | 353,892 | 15,525 | 1,978 |
| In both . | 2,477,254 | 108,676 | 13,856 |

At this period it was that Ken, once more, and for the last time, was appointed to preach the Lent sermon. It seems strange that one so constant to the interests of the Anglican Church, so brave in her defence, so uncompromising in the exercise of the pastoral authority, so unlikely to flatter, or to spare, should be permitted, at such a crisis, to denounce the errors of the Court religion, even within the King's Chapel. He came to London, that he might take his prescribed duty on "Passion Sunday," the 1st of April, 1688.

The knowledge that he was to be the Preacher drew together a vast concourse of persons, eager in this moment of excitement to hear the most eloquent of men, who would be sure to make a bold stand for the rights of the Church. Fearful accounts had come over of the despotism established in Ireland by the new Lord Lieutenant, Tyrconnel. We may form some judgment of this from the reckless measures to which he instigated the Irish Parliament in the following year, when they passed an Act to attain two Archbishops, one Duke, seventeen Earls, seven Coun-

Conf. 2,477,254

Nonconf. 108,676

Together 2,585,930

Papists 13,856

In all England .. 2,599,786

According to which account the proportion of

| | | |
|---|------|--------------|
| Conformists to Nonconformists is | 22½ | } to One." * |
| Conformists to Papists is | 178½ | |
| Conf. and Nonconf. together to Papists is | 186½ | |

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxviii. fol. 7.

teffes, eighteen Barons, thirty-three Baronets, fifty-one Knights, eighty-three Clergymen, two thousand and eighty-two Esquires and Gentlemen ;—all of them without a hearing adjudged guilty of high treason, and declared worthy to suffer the pains of forfeiture and death.* The King already seemed prepared for the same measures in Ireland, as Louis had perpetrated towards the Huguenots in France. He soon afterwards employed those two French barbarians, Rosen and Mammo, who had dragooned the Protestants of Languedoc, and afterwards commanded the massacres before Derry.

Every faithful pastor, therefore, was bound to witness for the truth of the Anglican Church,—to run all risks, that he might keep the people steadfast to their faith. Ken could not be indifferent or passive in such an emergency : he might be responsible, in his measure, for the ruin of all he held most dear, if he abstained from explicitly warning his hearers of the present danger. His part was not to preach up rebellion against the royal authority, but to inculcate firmness of purpose, and penitence for the public sins, which had called down the present judgments upon the nation. The scene in the Chapel at Whitehall on this occasion was an extraordinary one. “The Morning Sermon was preached by Dr. Stillingfleet, on the 10th Luke, 41, 42. The Holy Communion followed ; but was so interrupted by the rude breaking in of multitudes, *zealous to hear the second sermon to be preached* (in the

* The State of the Protestants of Ireland, under the late King James's Government. By Dr. William King, Archbishop of Dublin.—4to, 3rd Edition, 1691.

afternoon service) *by the Bishop of Bath and Wells*, that the latter part of that Holy Office could hardly be heard, or the sacred elements be distributed without great trouble.* The doors of the Chapel were not closed between the services, owing to the crowds who pressed in before the time to secure seats. At length the Princess Ann, with her attendants, having at the appointed hour taken her place in the Royal Gallery, on the left hand of the King's Chair, which was empty, and the prayers being ended, the Bishop went up into the pulpit. "He preached on 7th Micah, 8. 9. 10,† describing the calamity of the Reformed Church of Judah under the Babylonian persecution, for her sins, and God's delivery of her, on her repentance; that, as Judah emerg'd, so should the now Reform'd Church, wherever insulted and persecuted. *He preach'd with his accustomed action, zeal, and energy; so that people flock'd from all quarters to hear him.*"‡

The principal points of his discourse were the sins of the "*Reformed Church of Judah*,"—her permitted sufferings under the Babylonish captivity; the reproachful joy of the Edomites at her desolation; her repentance under this visitation; her patient submission, and confidence that God would one day plead her cause; the judgments executed on Belshazzar,

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 272.

† "Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy; when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against Him, until He plead my cause, and execute judgement for me: He will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold His Righteousness.

‡ Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 273.

and his idolatrous Court; the punishment inflicted on the apostate Edomites, by the hands of the very Babylonians, whom they had encouraged and assisted against her;—the deliverance of Judah from her captivity; and lastly her joy in being brought by God to his true light, and permitted to behold His righteousness, which made penitent, patient, *Reformed Judah* not only victorious, but triumphant.

Under the figure of *Reformed Judah* was represented the Church of England; the Babylonians were the Romanists, the Edomites the Dissenters: the national sins of Judah,—her calamities under the yoke of her enemies,—her repentance and submission,—her deliverance and triumph, are held out to “Protestant Reformed England” as her warning, her instruction, and her consolation.

The Bishop could not be unconscious of the dangers attendant on the subject he had chosen. The King had peremptorily forbid the clergy to preach on the controversies of the day: he was at that moment attending mass in another part of the palace; but would be sure to hear of all that passed. Nevertheless Ken had a duty to discharge, higher than obedience to any earthly authority, and though it had been at the hazard of his life, he dared not shrink from it.

He opens at once on the meaning and scope of the text. “Every one that hears this passage of Scripture will soon perceive what the Prophet intends, namely a representation of the Church of Judah under the Babylonish Captivity.” He then shows how the Prophets of old were wont to declare boldly the counsels of God, and alludes to the absence of the

King, which exposed the preacher to the risk of having his words misrepresented :

“ As the Prophet directed his discourse to the Church, to the Reformed Church in general, so he applied himself to all degrees of men in particular. He preach’d not only to the people, and to the priests, but to the Court ; ‘ *to the heads of the House of Jacob, and to the Princes of the House of Israel :*’ nay, to King Hezekiah himself ; in whose presence he delivered that direful Prophecy, warning the King and the Court of the danger of national sins,—of the national judgements they would certainly bring down, unless prevented by a national repentance.”

“ It was a bold undertaking to denounce God’s judgements to the King, and to the Court ; and to tell them that the King’s palace, and that the whole city of Jerusalem should be ploughed, should be utterly destroyed : such mortifying subjects as these, Courts, above all others, are not willing to hear of. *But true Prophets, in the delivery of their messages, fear none but God, and dare say anything that God commands them. And there are times when Prophets cannot, must not, keep silence ; when the watchmen ought to blow the trumpet, to give the warning of repentance to the whole land ; or if the land will not take the warning, to free their own souls.*”

“ Amos was originally neither Prophet nor Prophet’s son, but a poor herdman of Tekoa ; * yet when God sent him, he had courage from above to prophesy against Israel, against King Jeroboam, and against the worship of the Calves ; to prophesy terrible things, EVEN AT BETHEL, WHICH WAS THE KING’S CHAPEL, AND THE KING’S COURT ; and to prophesy in spite of Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, who falsely accused him to Jeroboam for ‘ *conspiring against him ;*’ adding ‘ *that the land was not able to bear all his words :*’ as if a true zeal for God had been rebellion against the King.”

* This is in reference to his own elevation from a humble station to the Episcopal chair.

Speaking of the Prophet, whose words wrought so successfully on Hezekiah, he exclaims,

“Happy was it for the King that he so devoutly attended to the Prophet: *happy was it for the Prophet that he had the opportunity of preaching to the King himself.* Had he preached these severe, though necessary, truths in another congregation, where a sort of men, such as the Psalmist complains of, *came on purpose to wrest his words, and with thoughts against him for evil, what tragical relations had been made of his sermon!* But the Prophet was safe under the King’s gracious protection, and in having the King himself for his auditor, who being like an angel of God, liked the preacher the better for the conscientious discharge of his prophetick duty.”

He thus describes the Babylonians ;

“They were cruel, and would show no mercy ; a bitter and hasty nation, terrible and dreadful, and very heavily laid their yoke on God’s people. I need say no more of them than this, that St. John, when he was to draw a prophetick description of the Great Antichrist under the Gospel, was directed by the Spirit of God to make Babylon the Type, and to paint scriptural Babylon in the colours of the temporal ; as if no nation under heaven were infamous and wicked enough to furnish him with idolatry and pride, and uncleanness, and covetousness, and cruelty, and impiety in full perfection, fit to resemble the Man of Sin, but only the Babylonian.”

Of the Edomites, he says,

“They were the children of Esau, and originally of the same blood, and of the same religion with Judah, though they revolted from the Church of God. And these seemed to have derived from Esau, their father, his perverseness, which he remarkably show’d to his aged mother ; inasmuch that Josephus gives them this character, that ‘they were a turbu-

lent and unruly nation, always prone to commotions, and rejoicing in changes.' But their animosity against Judah seemed to be hereditary; the loss of the Birth-right, and of the blessing in their father, entail'd revenge on all his posterity. And they were all along the natural enemies of the children of Jacob. And when they saw Judah assaulted by the Babylonians, they sided with Judah's enemies, and thirsted to have a share in the destruction of God's Church. So that the Edomite was an enemy as merciless, and as implacable, as the very Babylonian. Such were the enemies of afflicted Judah; and God in his just indignation against Judah's sins, gave both these enemies their desir'd success; success that was able to satiate the most impetuous and revengeful cruelty."

He exhibits great copiousness of invention in describing the condition of *Reformed Judah*, under three several aspects, "like a Captive, like a Penitent, and like a Conqueror." In the midst of her oppression and sufferings she cries out;

"*Rejoice not against me, O ye Babylonians*; remember that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will. He only is the God of battle, the sole Arbiter of peace and war, and can in one minute turn the whole torrent of calamity on you: and so He certainly will; for the Prophets that foretold my Captivity, have also promis'd and foretold my Deliverance: and the very same Prophets have threatened miseries much more dreadful to befall you; miseries, to which no relief is promis'd, to which nothing is foretold but outrageous despair. The burthen which God will lay on Babylon shall sink her much lower than captive Judah is now; when the measure of her covetousness is full, her end will then come. And it is filling apace, if not brim-ful already. Judah's Calamity has a determinate period; it shall last but 70 years at the longest;

but Babylon's shall be eternal: therefore *rejoice not against me, O ye Babylonians.*

“*Rejoice not, O ye Edomites; for in insulting over me, ye insult over your own miseries, as well as mine. Our God has commanded the Jew not to abhor an Edomite; for he is his Brother. Why should not this command be mutually observed on both sides? Why should the Edomite abhor his brother Jew? If both sides had been to blame, why should not their common danger have reconciled them? Ah! had Judah and Edom reviv'd that brotherly affection which, before the loss of the birth-right, harbour'd in the breasts of their fathers, Jacob and Esau; had they both join'd for the common safety against the Babylonian, the common enemy, humanly speaking, both might have preserv'd their liberty: but Edom will be an easy prey to the Babylonian, now her neighbour Judah is led captive. Rejoice not, then, against captive Judah; since every wound you give to Judah makes Edom bleed.*”

With equal force and truth he represents the very firm confidence and faith of penitent Judah in her Captivity, looking to God's tenderness and mercy for deliverance, though His countenance seemed, for a while, to be withdrawn from her:

“Nor was Judah only confident of deliverance, but or support also in the meantime: ‘when I sit in darkness, the Lord will be a light unto me!’ And this confidence was grounded on the usual conduct of propitious Providence. For in Micah, and the rest of the Prophets, when God denounces judgements against His people, His threats are intermingled with promises of blessings, either temporal or evangelical. Well, then, might penitent Judah say, ‘when I sit in darkness the Lord will be a light unto me.’ When I am depriv'd of all the comforts of life, abandon'd by all worldly succours; *

* This passage became applicable to himself when he was deprived of his Bishoprick.

when God Himself seems to desert me, and suffer me to lie 70 years together in a vexatious captivity; when God seems 'to cover Himself with a cloud, that my prayer should not pass through;' then will the Lord be a light unto me; at midnight I shall see a clear sunshine. In the multitude of the sorrows I shall then have in my heart, God's comforts shall refresh my soul. My insulting enemies hinder my other friends, but cannot hinder God, who is my best friend, from visiting me. When poor, captive, exile, penitent Judah, lies chain'd in a Babylonish dungeon, dark as Hell; yet the rays of the divine benignity can pierce through the thickest darkness, to enlighten and revive me. My chains will then be more eligible than liberty; Babylon will make me forget Sion. My very dungeon will be Heaven upon earth,* when I enjoy God there. No sad thought shall arise, but I can take sanctuary in one of His gracious promises, which shall instantly dispel it. If this be captivity, by becoming a Babylonish slave to become the Lord's freeman, O may my captivity last not seventy, but seventy times seven years. No time, O Lord, is long; eternity itself is not tedious, that is spent in thy fruition. O Almighty Goodness, Thou only canst make captivity desirable: welcome, then, darkness; there will I sit, desiring to see no light but what comes from Thy countenance; for Thou art light, and liberty, and joy, and all in all to those who, for Thy sake, are content for a while to sit in darkness."

In this simple faith, he exhorts the Church to patience, and non-resistance, waiting till the Lord should plead the cause of His Church:

* The same sentiment is beautifully expressed in his Morning Hymn,

"Heav'n is, dear Lord, where'er Thou art,
O never then from me depart;
For to my soul 'tis Hell to be,
But for one moment, without Thee."

KEN's Morning Hymn.

“God commanded Judah to serve the King of Babylon; and assur’d them, that if they serv’d him, they should live. And they were to ‘pray for the peace of that city; that in the peace thereof they might have peace.’ *So that all Judah was enjoin’d by God patient submission to that king. They were to subject their persons to the Babylonish government, but not to prostitute their consciences to the Babylonish idolatry, whensoever the commands of God, and of the king of Babylon, stood in competition. To have then obey’d the king had not been allegiance, but apostacy. In such cases the true Israelites would always be Martyrs, but never Rebels; they resolutely chose to obey God, and patiently to suffer the lions’ den, the fiery furnace, and the extremity of the King’s displeasure.*” *

It is not often that we find in our language a finer specimen of bold, and empasioned eloquence than his rapid description of the punishment that fell on the Babylonians, when the time was come for Judah’s deliverance;

“The Judgement God executed for his people was in all circumstances most remarkable. For vengeance surpriz’d Babylon, when the great Belshazzar, and his court and his concubines, were gorging themselves at a luxurious, idolatrous feast; ‘drinking themselves drunk’ in the vessels of the Temple, and wallowing in their own loathsome vomits. It was then the King saw the fatal hand-writing on the wall; ‘at which his countenance fell, and his thoughts troubled him, and the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.’ Then it was in the depth of

* His consistent and undeviating conduct afterwards exactly conformed to this principle. His life was in unison with his preaching. Though he never wrote any thing conversial on the point of “Passive Obedience,” he set a practical example of its influence, by living in seclusion for 20 years, as a deprived Bishop, rather than deny his allegiance.

their security, in the dead of the night, that Belfhazzar was slain, the city was taken, and Darius seized the kingdom. The Babylonians were destroyed in the midst of a debauch ; in the height of their impiety they all went drunk to Hell, and their souls and bodies perish'd both together."

Then follows a glowing description of Judah's providential release from her captivity :

"Hitherto she endur'd a long night of affliction, with some lightfome gleams only to refresh her : now God takes her up out of the dungeon, and brings her to open day : and He brings her out, without any of her own contrivance, or endeavour ; without anything on her part, but repentance and patient submission ; and on a sudden, to convince all the world it was His own work, it was the Lord, it was only the Lord, who at the expiration of 70 years, stirr'd up the spirit of Cyrus, to make that transporting, that surprising decree for building the Temple, and for the restoration of captive Judah. Then was she brought forth to the light in full splendour ; the dawns of which, all along, were to the faithful Israelites the solace of their captivity, and in all their cheerful intervals the subject of their songs ; when they took down their harps from the willows, and by the waters of Babylon strove, with the descriptions of future Sion, to forget the past."

"She saw herself happy, and her God most just, benign and merciful ; and her happiness being founded on affliction, she relished it the better ; she did the better taste and see that the Lord was gracious ; she experimentally felt, and confess'd, and lov'd, and ador'd 'the righteousness of God,' which made penitent, patient Judah not only victorious but triumphant. She rode in triumph over the once insulting Babylon ; in triumph, the most illustrious that ever was ; in triumph such as the good angels kept above, at the defeat of Lucifer and his apostate spirits, when they saw the accursed rebels falling headlong from Heaven, down to the place of endless torments, and heard them shrieking and howling all

the way they fell ; and the loyal host, in the mean time, full of the mighty joys of victory, exulted in the just damnation of the rebellious legions, and sang triumphant hymns to the Lord of Hosts, by Whose arm they had been conquerors. For thus the faithful triumphed over Babylon : ‘ how art thou fallen from Heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning ! ’ So certain was the victory, so glorious was the triumph, with which penitent patient Judah was honour’d by God, who was her most tender advocate, to plead her cause ; her most just avenger, to execute judgment for her : her most mighty deliverer, to bring her forth to the light ; and her most indulgent patron, to make her behold His righteousness.”

His hearers could not but apply to the Romanists and Dissenters this vivid description of the Babylonians and Edomites, to whom God, in His just indignation against Judah’s sins, gave the power of a long oppression. Ken, however, did not mean the application to be made to them, other than as a warning to all classes, lest, identifying themselves with such persecutors, they should partake of the judgments that were to follow.

“ Hitherto,” he says, “ I have only insisted on the case of Judah. And in making the application (*since we have not that happiness which Micah had, to have the King himself for our auditor, in whose royal candour a faithful preacher might be secure*) to prevent all misrepresentations, by which the most innocent discourse, and the very Scripture itself, may, by insidious men, be perverted, and charged with odious insinuations,—I beseech you to observe that, as to Babylon, it lies in St. John’s Visions under so many detestable characters ; the Prophecies concerning it are so obscure, and the interpretations of them are so various, some of them so uncertain, some of them so forc’d, that I confess they are abstrusenesses, which I do not

sufficiently understand, and therefore forbear particularly to apply."

"As to Edom: their father Esau is made, in the New Testament, the idea of a prophane person, of an apostate, of one hated by God, and of a reprobate: and God forbid I should bestow such names as these, on any one communion of Christians whatsoever. But if we meet with any such in the world, who professing Christianity in words, do so far deny it in their works, as to reach those characters which the Scripture gives of Babylon and Edom; we are to deplore them, to pray to God to turn their hearts, and to warn all people to come out from them, that they be not partakers of their sins, and that they receive not of their plagues. And whenever such enemies as these attempt the ruin of God's Church, our Saviour has taught His followers how to encounter them. 'Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you.' St. John has taught all Christians how to overcome them; 'by the blood of the Lamb, by the word of their testimony, and by not loving their lives unto the death.' Judah has taught all the faithful how to weather out a captivity under them, by repentance and patient submission. And my design in this discourse is, from penitent, patient, *Reform'd Judah*, to draw an example for the *Reform'd Church of England*, as far as their conditions may in any way agree, to imitate."

After exhorting his hearers, from the example of *penitent* Judah, to a serious and undelayed Repentance; and from the example of *patient* Judah, to submission under all trials, he thus concludes,

"In a word, I earnestly exhort you to a uniform zeal for the REFORMATION, that as, blessed be God, you are happily reform'd in your Faith, and in your worship, you would become wholly reform'd in your lives. From such a reformation

as this, we may confidently hope for a blessing: and whatsoever enemies our Church may at any time have; should they be as insulting as the Babylonian, or as revengeful as the Edomite; nay should they for a while be never so successful, yet penitent, patient REFORM'D ENGLAND may then say with penitent patient *reform'd Judah*; 'Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall I shall rise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against Him; until He plead my cause and execute judgment for me. He will bring me forth to the light; and I shall behold His Righteousness.' * *

The Court rang with comments on this memorable sermon: Ken had foretold, too truly, that he would be charged by "insidious men" with personally reproaching the King. The deep and tender concern he expressed for the Reformation, and his fervid calls to a holy dread and awe of the national sins, were so many emphatic reflections on the enemies of the public peace: they made "tragical relations" to the royal ear of these "necessary though severe truths." It appears from Hawkins's account that "*so far did the King entertain hopes of his absolute obedience to his will and pleasure, that, although many of his sermons were framed against the Church of Rome, yet it was thought worth while to attempt to gain him over to the interest of that party at Court.* But so ineffectually, that upon the preaching of this sermon in the King's own chapel at Whitehall, (which seems wholly intended against both the Popish and Fanatic factions, then

* The Sermon will be found in Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 99, "A Sermon preached upon Passion Sunday." And in the *Prose Works of Ken*, by Round, p. 174.

united at Court) and it being misrepresented to the King, who had not been present at Divine Service, but sending for the Bishop, and closeting him on the occasion, received nothing in answer but this fatherly reprimand, ‘*that if His Majesty had not neglected his own duty of being present, his enemies had missed this opportunity of accusing him.*’ Whereupon he was dismissed.”*

It was a very unusual circumstance for a man to be brought into relation with three Princes, and to have the Christian boldness to rebuke them all, when silence would have betrayed his duty. Such had been Ken’s position towards William of Orange, and Charles II., and now once more he felt himself irresistibly compelled to use the same freedom. And yet he was a conspicuous example of gentleness and humility,—and of unalterable loyalty, even to the point of Passive Obedience. But the motive which impelled him to so difficult a duty, is explained in his own forcible words: “*Such mortifying subjects as these, Courts, above all others, are not willing to bear of. But true Prophets, in the delivery of their messages, fear none but God, and dare say any thing that God commands them.*”†

* Hawkins’s Life of Ken, p. 17.

† Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 176.

CHAPTER XVI.

The King's Declaration of Indulgence—Order of Council to have it read in all Churches—Petition of Archbishop Sancroft, Ken, and five other Bishops against the Order. They are sent to the Tower.



HE Bishop could hardly expect to escape some serious consequences for personally preaching such a sermon, after the punishment inflicted on the Bishop of London for a less offence.

April 27.

The King, however, had already resolved on some more general, and stringent measure to test the obedience of the Clergy. For on the 27th of the same month he made a fresh "DECLARATION FOR LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE." This State paper is drawn with considerable skill. It sets out with an intimation that the King was resolved to be obeyed; "Our conduct has been such at all times as ought to have persuaded the world that we are firm and constant in our resolutions: yet, that easy people may not be abus'd by the malice of crafty wicked men, we think fit to declare that our intentions are not changed since the 4th of April, 1687, when we issued out our Declaration for liberty of conscience." It states that it had been his principal care to secure the benefits of Indulgence to all his subjects, who had testified by multitudes of addressees their satisfaction

and duty : that liberty of conscience would be a public benefit to future ages, and for the general good of the whole kingdom : that offices and employments of the state ought to be the reward of services, fidelity and merit, not subject to Oaths and Tests, as must be apparent to all who felt concerned in the encrease of the wealth and power of these kingdoms, which above all others are most capable of improvements, and of commanding the trade of the world : that the late changes both of civil and military officers were for the purpose of establishing the peace and greatness of the country, as all unbiaſſed men might ſee by the condition of the fleet and armies, which ſhould be conſtantly the ſame, and greater, if the ſafety and honour of the nation required it : that he had been during the three years of his reign the Father of his people, not their oppreſſor : and it concludes by urging all to lay aſide private animoſities and jealousies, and to chooſe ſuch members of Parliament as would do their parts for the advantage of the monarchy, promiſing to call them together in November next at fartheſt.

To give the full'eſt publicity to this Proclamation, and to ſhow that he was reſolved to carry out the meaſure, an order of Council was made on the 4th of May, directing the Biſhops to have it ſent to their reſpective Dioceſes, and read at the uſual time of Divine Service, on the 20th and 27th of the month, in all churches and chapels in London and Weſtminſter, and ten miles thereabout ; and on the 3rd and 10th of June in all other churches and chapels throughout the kingdom. This order appears to have excited more ſurpriſe and oppoſition than the Declaration itſelf.

Yet it was no unusual exercise of prerogative; for the authority of the Crown to have its Proclamations read from the pulpit appears to have been, and still is, recognized. It had been obeyed several times by Sancroft himself in the late reign;* and appears to be provided for in the Act of Uniformity, prefixed to the Book of Common Prayer. But in this case acquiescence would have given the sanction of the Clergy to an illegality, which the Indulgence clearly was. The Bishops at once perceived, that it was not only levelled against the Church, but was intended to mortify them, and degrade them in the public esteem: their concurrence would make them parties to an act that would be construed into a sanction of the Indulgence, and must have prepared the way to further encroachments.

But more than this, and apart from all political considerations of prudence, and legal security, they thought that to publish during divine service, what they conscientiously believed to be a toleration of error, would be contrary to the interests of religion; to proclaim the lawfulness of schism would in their judgment violate the principle of unity: to justify by an episcopal act the setting up of Papal and Presbyterian worship against the altar of the true Church, would compromise their clear duty.† Archbishop Sancroft,

* Kennet, vol. iii. pp. 388, 408, and Echard. D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, edit. 1840, p. 152. When Charles II. published his Declaration (1681) on dissolving the Oxford Parliament, Sancroft in the Council moved that an Order should be added to it, requiring the Clergy to publish it in all the Churches, which was thought to be a dangerous precedent. Burnet's *Reign of James II.*, by Routh, p. 253.

† Hitherto the Clergy had been distinguished for their loyalty, hold-

whose courage and zeal were, on this occasion, equal to the emergency which threatened the Church, was at once disposed to make a stand.

We have a short, clear, and resolute paper of "*Reasons for not publishing the Declaration*," which he probably drew up as an ultimatum for his own conduct, and for the guidance of others. From this he never swerved.

"1. I am not averse to the reading the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, for want of due tenderness towards Dissenters; in relation to whom I shall be willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fitt, when that matter comes to be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation.

"2. The Declaration being founded on such a Dispensing Power, as may at pleasure set aside all Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil, appears to me illegal; and did so in the Parliament both in the year 1662, and in the year 1672, and in the beginning of his Majesty's Reign, and it is a point of such consequence, that I cannot so far make myself a party to it, as the reading of it in the Church in the time of Divine Service will amount to."*

ing the doctrine of Non-resistance to be the true teaching of the Church: but obedience at this crisis would be an act of aggression against her vital interests. And now it appeared how salutary was the warning which old Bishop Morley, on his death bed, sent to James, when he was Duke of York. He desired Lord Dartmouth to tell him, that "if ever he depended on the doctrine of Non-resistance, he would find himself deceived; for there were very few of that opinion, though there were not many of the Church of England that thought proper to contradict it in terms; but he was very sure they would in practice." Lord Dartmouth often reminded James of this, but to very little purpose; for all the answer was, that "the Bishop was a very good man, but grown old and timorous." Burnet's Hist. of his Own Time, Oxford Edⁿ 1833, vol. ii. p. 440.

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxviii. fol. 65. Among the Archbishop's

He held many consultations with the Bishops who were near at hand, and several of the most distinguished of the London clergy, in order to ascertain the general feeling. By their advice a circular was sent to the absent Prelates, inviting them to attend at Lambeth.

Ken, having returned to Wells after his duty in London had been performed, received the following letter from the Archbishop :

“ My Lord,

“ This is only in my own name, and in the name of some of our Brethren, now here upon the place, earnestly to desire you, immediately upon the receipt of this letter, to come hither with what convenient speed you can, not taking notice to any that you are sent for. Wishing you a prosperous journey, and us all a happy meeting, I remain

“ Your very loving Brother,

“ WILLIAM CANTUAR.”*

He came at once to London, where he arrived on the evening of the 17th of May, with his friend Trelawney, of Bristol. On the following morning
 May 18. (Friday) there was a meeting at Lambeth Palace, when Sancroft found himself surrounded by seven Bishops, with Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Tenison, Sherlock, Master of the Temple, and Dr. Grove, Rector of St. Andrews.† They began by invoking the Divine aid

papers in the Bodleian we have another memorandum of “ *The case of reading the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, briefly stated in four propositions* ;” the conclusion of which is, “ Therefore the Clergy cannot lawfully obey the Order for their reading the Declaration.” Tanner MSS., vol. xxviii. fol. 32.

* Tanner MSS., vol. xxviii. fol. 21.

† D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, edit. 1840, p. 156. See also note to

to guide and influence their deliberations. Seldom, if ever, since the Reformation had there been a more critical moment for the Church of England: moderate counsels, combined with a collected energy of action, could alone avert the danger. The Bishops considered that they were entitled to offer advice to the Crown in all matters purely ecclesiastical.* In the present instance the exercise of their privilege was bound upon them by the duty they owed to their flocks; for the natural defenders of the honour and safety of the Church, were now commanded to strike a blow against her dearest interests. They resolved, therefore, to make a humble appeal to the King by Petition, couched in the most respectful terms of duty and attachment.

The Bishops agreed unanimously that they should take on themselves the exclusive responsibility of whatever might happen, so that others might not be involved in an act which would, in all probability, expose them to the King's resentment. The Petition was drawn up in the handwriting of the Archbishop,†

p. 162 for the reason why Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, did not receive his summons: it arose from the neglect of the post-master. Also Tanner MSS., vol. xxviii. fol. 30. 31, for two letters from Mews, Bishop of Winchester. In the first, he says, "though I were to-morrow to begin a course of physic, yet I shall, God willing, come part of the way." But by the next post he writes, that he was afflicted by the wounds in his head (formerly received in battle) to that degree, that he was "forc'd to let blood, and so am made at present incapable for to bear the motion of a coach. But is very uneasy to mee that I am disappointed in my intention of wayting on you. I beg your pardon and prayers."

* Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. p. 364.

† The rough draft of the Petition is to be found in the Tanner MSS. in Sancroft's handwriting, with many interlineations and corrections, showing the scrupulous care with which every word was weighed,

to secure the utmost secrecy, and was signed by himself and all the Bishops present, except Compton, who had been suspended.

“ TO THE KING’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

“ *The Humble Petition of William Archbishop of Canterbury, and of divers of the Suffragan Bishops of that Province, now present with him, in behalf of themselves and others of their absent Brethren, and of the Clergy of their respective Dioceses,*

“ *Humbly sheweth :*

“ That the great averiness they find in themselves to the distributing and publishing in all their Churches your Majesty’s late Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, proceedeth neither from any want of Duty and Obedience to Your Majesty, our Holy Mother, the Church of England, being both in her Principles and in her constant Practice unquestionably Loyal, and having (to her great Honour) been more than once publicly acknowledged to be so by Your Gracious Majesty : nor yet from any want of due tenderness to Dissenters, in relation to whom they are willing to come to such a Temper as shall be thought fit, when that matter shall be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation ; but, amongst many other Considerations, from this especially, because that Declaration is founded upon such a Dispensing Power, as hath been often declared illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the years 1662, and 1672, and in the beginning of Your Majesty’s Reign ; and is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State, that Your Petitioners cannot in Prudence, Honour, or Conscience, so far make themselves Parties to it, as the Distribu-

and the expressions softened down. Dr. Cardwell has given a fac simile of this interesting paper, in his *Documentary Annals of the Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 367.

tion of it all over the Nation, and the solemn Publication of it once and again, even in God's House, and in the time of His Divine Service, must amount to, in common and reasonable Construction.

" Your Petitioners therefore most humbly and earnestly beseech Your Majesty, that You will be graciously pleased not to insist upon their Distributing and Reading your Majesty's said Declaration :

" And your Petitioners (as in Duty bound) shall ever pray, &c.

" W: CANT. [Sancroft] THO: BATH AND WELLS [Ken]
W. ASAPH [Lloyd] THO: PETRIBURGENS. [White]
FRAN. ELY [Turner] JON. BRISTOL [Trelawney]
JO: CICEST: [Lake]."

There was no time to be lost, as the Declaration was to be read in the London churches the next day but one; so they resolved immediately to present the paper in person to the King: but the Archbishop, being forbidden to appear at Court, was not to accompany the other six.

It was a moment of deep and solemn interest, when these courageous men passed over the river in the Archbishop's barge from Lambeth to Whitehall. Only the measured sound of the oars was heard: all around them was hushed into silence; for it was now ten o'clock at night.* The inhabitants of the town, unconscious of the impending struggle for their dearest rights, had gone to rest. As the Bishops landed at Whitehall stairs, no one was to be seen but the sentinels

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, edit. 1840, p. 160. *Clarke's Life of James II.*, vol. ii. p. 156.

at their post. They went to the House of Lord Dartmouth, and deputed Lloyd of St. Asaph, and Lake of Chichester to see Lord Sunderland, and to tell him they were come in the name of the Archbishop, themselves, and four others of their brethren, and had a Petition to deliver to the King. Lord Sunderland went immediately to his Majesty and acquainted him with it, who said they might come when they would. They were introduced first into the bed-chamber, and then into the room where the King was. There they delivered the Petition, all on their knees.

The King at first received them graciously, and opening the Petition, said, "This is my Lord of Canterbury's own hand." As soon, however, as he had read it over, he folded it up, and said, "This is a great surprize to me: here are strange words. I did not expect this from you. This is a standard of rebellion."—His own account is, that

"The King was much startled at this address, and told them that tho' he had heard of their design, he did not believe it; nor did he expect such usage from the Church of England, especially from some of the Petitioners; that he had the charity for most of them to think they were not sensible of the harme they did him, and themselves, but that they had been imposed upon by ill men, who designed his and their ruin; that it was a sounding of Sheba's trumpet, and that the seditious preachings of the Puritans in the year '40 was not of so ill consequence as this; that they had raised a devil they could not lay, and that when it was too late they would see their error, and would be the first that would repent it."*

* "Memoirs writ by his own hand." Clarke's Life of James II., vol. i. p. 155.

The King often repeated, "this is the standard of rebellion. I never saw such an address." This word *rebellion* carried with it an ominous threat to those who remembered the yet recent Western Assizes. Several of the Bishops, in answer to the King's passionate exclamation, protested against such a charge: they declared that they were ready to die for his Majesty. Trelawney, of Bristol, falling down on his knees, said, "Rebellion! Sir, I beseech your Majesty, do not say so hard a thing of us. For God's sake do not believe we are, or can be, guilty of a rebellion. 'Tis impossible that I, or any of my family, should be so. Your Majesty cannot but remember, that you sent me down into Cornwall to quell Monmouth's Rebellion; and I am as ready to do what I can to quell another, if there were occasion." After which Ken in his calm manner joined in the conference;

"*Bishop of Bath.* Sir, I hope you will give that liberty [of conscience] to us, which you allow to all mankind.

"The King, insisting upon the tendency of the Petition to Rebellion, said he would have his Declaration published.

"*Bishop of Bath.* We are bound to fear God, and honor the King. We desire to do both: we will honor you; we must fear God.

"*The King.* Is this what I have deserved, who have supported the Church of England, and will support it? I will remember you, that you have signed this paper. I will keep this paper; I will not part with it. I did not expect this from you. I will be obeyed in publishing my Declaration.

"*Bishop of Bath.* God's will be done.

"*The King.* What's that?

"*Bishop of Bath.* God's will be done.—And so said the Bishop of Peterborough.

"*The King.* If I think fit to alter my mind, I will send to you. God hath given me this dispensing power, and I will maintain it. I tell you there are 7000 men, and of the Church of England too, that have not bowed the knee to Baal."*

And so they were dismissed.

The few significant words of Ken ought to have convinced James that nothing could shake the resolution of men, who told him to his face that the fear of God was a higher duty than honour to kings. But he "gave a worse interpretation to their resistance, than that it was merely scruple of conscience: he thought that, finding the people disposed to follow the cry they heard from the altar, and that they could whistle up the winds, they were resolved to raise a storm, though they seemingly pretended to lay it."† This motive was imputed to them by the bigotry of his counsellors, and by false friends, who urged him on to extremities for the purpose of alienating from him the mind of the nation; "sycophants," as he calls them, "who covered his eyes from the light." He says,

"According to human prudence his Majesty had done better in not forcing some wheels, when he found the whole machine stop; but his too great attention to what he thought just and reasonable hinder'd him from reflecting on what (to

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, edit. 1840, p. 161. Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. p. 340.

† His own *Memoirs*. Clarke's *Life of James II.*, vol. ii. p. 156.

be sure) had been more safe, as the case then stood; but it was the King's misfortune to give too much ear to the pernicious advice of those who put him upon such dangerous counsels, with intent (as was suspected) to widen the breach, and therefore encouraged his persisting in those ways, which he might have seen would not go down with the multitude."*

What added to his obstinacy was the persuasion, that nothing had proved more injurious to his brother, and especially to his father Charles I., than their yielding temper; and, as the Petition had only been signed by seven of the Bishops, he did not imagine the others would refuse compliance.

Printed copies of the Petition were circulated through the town the same night; and the next morning the fact that the Bishops had waited upon the King was universally known. As usual, many versions of the story being given, great excitement prevailed in the town. There was a universal feeling of sympathy with the Prelates, whose conduct was highly admired and applauded, even by the Dissenters. They appeared venerable in the eyes of all men as brave champions of the Church. On the following Sunday, when the Declaration was read in a very few

May 20.

* His own Memoirs Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 156.

rence in the Petition,* of which copies were sent to them to sign. These were "Old Church of England Royalists," who nobly maintained the character given of them by South, in his famous university sermon three years before.†

The King now seemed in doubt what steps to take. His counsellors were divided, and, unhappily for himself, he yielded to the advice of the more violent
 May 27. among them. On the 27th the Bishops received notice to appear before the Council on the 8th of June, to answer for a misdemeanour in publishing a libel on the King. The intermediate time was busily employed in consultations, among themselves and friends, at Lambeth, as to the course they ought to pursue.

If few of the Clergy in and round London had

- * "Approbo. May 23, 1688. H. London [Compton]
 May 23. William Norwich [Lloyd]
 May 21, 88. Robert Gloucester [Frampton]
 May 26. Seth Sarum [Ward]
 P. Wincheſter [Mews]
 May 29, 1688. Tho. Exon. [Lampleugh]."

Cardwell's Documentary Annals, vol. ii. 366. Beaw, of Llandaff, and Smith, of Carlisle, wrote letters of approval. Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. pp. 331, 334. Dr. Thomas, of Worcester, is said to have signed on June 3. Lingard's *Hist. of England*, Edⁿ 1849, vol. i. p. 303, note.

† 2 Cor. viii. 12, "*Good intentions no excuse for bad actions.*" On this period of our history, the venerable nonagenarian, Dr. Routh, acutely observes, that "the Clergy who were most obnoxious for their compliance with the King's measures, were almost all, not of the old royalist, but at one period of their lives of the opposite party. Such were Parker, Cartwright, Crewe, Sprat, Hall, and even Barlow. These temporizing prelates, true to their own interest, were for active as well as passive obedience to the powers *that be.*" Burnet's *Hist. of his Own Time*. Routh's 2nd edit., p. 161, note.

read the Declaration in Church, it was not likely that many would do so in the country, now that the universal sense of all classes had time for expression. But the Bishops and others in London left nothing undone to keep the parochial Clergy stedfast to the same course. Turner of Ely, always foremost and zealous, sent off to his friend Dr. Gower, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, a large parcel of printed papers, being *Reasons against reading the Declaration*: and the next day he writes to him as to the measures to be taken for distributing them in the north:

"To the very Rev. my Hon. Friend, Dr. Gower, Mr. of May 26.
St. Jo. Coll. &c.

"Ely House, May 26, 1688.

"Most Dear Master,

"You and I have fatigued it together pretty sufficiently heretofore, but these last three weeks have bin the most toilsome part of my life. I say this to excuse my not writing to you, but God has blest us with great success, tho' still we lye under great displeasure; I must expect the effects of it suddenly. God fit us for whatever he shall send: we shall never repent of May 18th enterprise; all our security under God consists in the multitude of the Clergy, equally obnoxious: therefore we send expresses into all parts of the Kingdome, with letters of advice and printed papers (of which I sent you a number yesterday by the carrier). The papers do state the case of conscience against reading the Declaration. We need a nimble trusty man, to carry a cloak bag of these to Darby, where he first is to open his Pack; thence on he must go to Pomfret, to Fran. Drake, with another parcell; to York with another to Dr. Comber; to Newcastle with another to Mr. Tully; lastly to the Bp. of Carlisle. We can think of no man so proper as honest expeditious John Poole: Pray spare him, and let him be gone this night (this Saturday night)

if it be possible: furnish him with money which I'll repay you; and let him fit himself with a good Horse, which if need be, he may leave at Pomfret, and there take a second: above all let him know nothing of the secret, nor who employs him, nor name you. When I shall be down with you, or whether ever again, is very doubtfull: I long to know how our Dean will comport himself. Will he have it read in our Cathedral? I hope better. Pray write a few lines to Mr. Drake, as John Poole's credentials, that he may not be thought a trepan. We all (Blessed be God) are in health, but my Mother and daughter have both been ill, and dangerously. Remember our holy Mother the Church in your prayers.

"I am, Most Dear Master, your most sincerely,

"[FRAN. ELY.]*

"I send you an enclosed true copy of the Petition, but keep it to yourself that I sent it."

"In Pursuance of this Letter, John Poole was sent by Dr. Gower: from hence to Pomfret, &c. and so to Carlisle, as he told me himself."

The "honest expeditious John Poole" arrived at York at the very moment when Dean Comber, and many of the neighbouring Clergy, were consulting together about reading the King's Declaration;

"By a singular providence," says he, "a special messenger arrived at this moment from London, who brought 500 printed papers directed to me, which contained Reasons against reading the Declaration, one of which we read, and it satisfied all the company: so we all refused to read it, and sent out the papers all over the diocese, and so ordered it that few read it here."† "Dr. Hickes writes, that in the Dioceses

* Harl. MSS., 7033, p. 362.

† Memoirs of Dean Comber, 8vo, 1799, p. 263.

of Oxford, Lichfield, and Hereford, where the Declarations were distributed, I cannot hear of above four or five ministers in each Diocese that read them. Not one was read in Oxford town or University, but one in Hereford town, and all the people went out of the Church." *

Lord Clarendon, in his Diary, says,

" On the evening of the 5th of June the Bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells, were with me : I advised them to consult with the best lawyers how to behave themselves at the Council board ; that the time drew near ; and that they should not come unprepared to answer any questions that might be asked them upon their Petition." " The next day, in the evening, the Bishops of Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and St. Asaph, were with me, and desired to borrow some Parliamentary Journals, which they thought might be useful to them, and which I lent them." Again : " On the seventh, in the evening, the Bishops were with me, and told me they had taken advice with the best counsel, and hoped they should have good success to-morrow. I asked them if they had well considered what to do or say, in case they should be required to find bail for their further appearance (for such a thing was whispered), and found they had not, whereupon I earnestly pressed them to go this very evening, and advise with Sir Robert Sawyer, who could best instruct them what power the Council board now had ; and so they left me, resolving to go presently to him." †

* Memoirs of Dean Comber, 8vo, 1799, p. 263. This expresses cost 11*l.* 12*s.*, as appears by an " Account of the Expences sustained by the Seven Bishops on their Prosecution, Trial, &c." See Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. ii. p. 377. In the same account are entries for several expresses sent by Ken to Oxford and Exeter, and from Wells to Exeter.

† Clarendon's Diary, vol. ii. p. 175. Turner of Ely writes to the Archbishop to tell him, that himself and " two of our number " had held a long conference, till past eleven at night, with their ablest and kindest advisers, who were unanimous in opinion that they should by no

June 8. "On Friday, June 8th, at 5 in the afternoon, the King came to the Privy Council. About half an hour after, the Archbishop and the six Bishops, who were in attendance in the next room, were called into the Council Chamber, and graciously received by his Majesty. On being asked if the Petition was written and signed by his Grace, the Archbishop answered: 'Sir, I am called hither as a criminal, which I never was before in my life; and little thought I ever should be, especially before your Majesty: but since it is my unhappiness to be so at this time, I hope your Majesty will not be offended that I am cautious of answering questions. No man is obliged to answer questions that may tend to the accusing of himself.'* Thereupon they were ordered to withdraw; and being called in a second time, they made the same answer to the same question: but at the third coming in, the Chancellor pressing them to own or disown the paper, the Archbishop confessed that it was written with his own hand; and the rest acknowledged that they had signed it, adding withal that they had done nothing but what they were ready to justify.† They were then asked if any others were present at the framing of it. To which they answered: 'It is our great infelicity that we are here as criminals; and your Majesty is so just and generous, that you will not require us to accuse either ourselves or others.'‡ The Lord Chancellor fell into anger and reproaches, and pretended to endeavour to make them sensible of the ill consequences of their disobedience, which tended to diminish the King's authority, and to disturb the peace of the kingdom: and then at last asked

means answer particular questions; but keep to the general—what are the matters of misdemeanour against them? and desire a copy of their charge. Sir Robert Sawyer, "from whom we received more instruction than from all the rest," recommended them not to enter into recognizances. Tanner MSS., vol. xxviii. fol. 60.

* D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, p. 167.

† Kennet, vol. iii. p. 511.

‡ D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, p. 168.

them whether they would give their recognizances to appear before the Court of King's Bench to answer their high misdemeanour? This they all refused to do, insisting on the privilege of their Peerage, which they were resolved to maintain, as well as the rights of the Church; being equally bound by their callings to oppose all innovations, both in government and religion. This bold answer put the whole Council into some amazement; and the Chancellor Jeffreys threatened to send them to the Tower, unless they did immediately recant and withdraw their Petition. They unanimously answered, that they were ready to go whithersoever his Majesty would please to send them; they hoped the King of kings would be their protector and their judge: they feared nothing from men; for, having acted according to law and their own consciences no punishment should be ever able to shake their resolutions." *

They were urged again and again, then ordered to retire, and once more brought in before the Council. They promised to appear at any time to answer to the charge, but refused to give bail, insisting that there was no precedent for it, that any member of the House of Peers should be bound in recognizance for a misdemeanour.† The last time they went in "they found the King vanish'd, and Jeffreys in the chair, who used them very roughly."‡ They were ordered once more to withdraw. At last, being all resolved, a Sergeant-at-Arms came out to them from the Council with a warrant signed with 14 hands, to carry the Prelates to the Tower, and another warrant signed by 19, and seals annexed, addressed to the Lieutenant of

* Kennet, vol. iii. p. 512.

† D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, p. 170.

‡ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 763, On the authority of the Bishop of Durham.

the Tower to keep them in safe custody. At the same time an Order in Council was made, directing the Attorney and Solicitor-Generals to prosecute them.*

Whilst this scene was acting within, the greatest excitement prevailed among the crowds of people who waited without the Palace, regarding the Bishops as the great assertors of liberty, and martyrs for their religion. The King showed his anxiety to avoid the extreme measure of sending them to the Tower by recalling them so often to the Council, and urging them to give bail for their appearance. In his Memoirs, he imputes to them a desire to force him to commit them to the Tower, and says he would have taken their word for their appearance,—but they refused.† This is not the fact, for the Archbishop expressed their readiness to appear, without recognizance, at any time they were called upon.‡ Some three years afterwards, in a letter to Lloyd of Norwich, complaining of a pamphlet of that day, which charged them with standing on niceties, Sancroft says,

“ We prefer’d y^e K^s our words, as honest men, and Christians, and Churchmen, to appear to his prosecution, whenever he should assign us a day; but the Council insisted upon it that we should enter a recognizance to that purpose; To which, when we answered that our counsell advis’d us (and indeed divers of y^e Peers had also privately warn’d us) by no means to doe it, for that would be to betray y^e privilege of

* D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, p. 172.

† Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 159.

‡ D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, p. 173.

y^e peerage, and thereupon befought the King y^e he would take our words, w^h he could not think we would falsify to noe purpose at all,—we were commanded to withdraw, and soon after a messenger came out with a warrant to carry us to y^e Tower.”*

To prevent the tumult that might be occasioned by their passage to the Tower through the streets, they were ordered to be sent away by water.† When the populace discovered this, they went round to the river side, and testified by their acclamations the most lively interest in their fate, and even on their knees begged a parting blessing. The same concern was expressed, as the barge arrived at the Tower wharf. Here again a great crowd was assembled to receive them: they were no sooner landed than most of the officers and soldiers fell on their knees to beg their blessing.‡

Hume gives a glowing description of the scene :

* MSS. Collection of Letters in the possession of Dr. Williams, Warden of New College, Oxford, to whom I am under great obligations for the unreserved use of these interesting and valuable documents.

Bishop Turner “is said to have acknowledged, that their going to the Tower, when they might easily have prevented the same by entering into mutual recognizances for each other, as the King would have had them, was a wrong step taken, and an unnecessary puntilio of honour in Christian Bishops.” *Life of Kettlewell*, 8vo, p. 431.

† Sir John Reresby records, that he saw them at Whitehall on their way, and that they all looked very cheerfully: the Bishop of Chichester, in particular, called to him, and asked him how he did. *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, edit. 1813, p. 346.

‡ Kennet, vol. iii. p. 512, and Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 275. Any account that can be given of these stirring events must appear sadly wanting in spirit and graphic force, if compared with the powerful and masterly descriptions of Macaulay. If this part of my first edition of *Ken's Life* had not been in print before I had seen his History, I should probably have contented myself with a general reference to his pages.

“ The people were already aware of the danger to which the prelates were exposed ; and were raised to the highest pitch of anxiety and attention with regard to the issue of this extraordinary affair. But when they beheld these fathers of the Church brought from Court under the custody of a guard, when they saw them embarked in vessels, on the river, and conveyed towards the Tower, all their affection for liberty, all their zeal for religion, blazed up at once ; and they flew to behold this affecting spectacle. The whole shore was covered with crowds of prostrate spectators, who at once implored the blessing of those Holy pastors, and addressed their petitions towards Heaven for protection during this extreme danger, to which their country and their religion stood exposed. Even the soldiers, seized with the contagion of the same spirit, flung themselves on their knees before the distressed prelates, and craved the benediction of those criminals whom they were appointed to guard. Some persons ran into the water, that they might participate more nearly in those blessings, which the prelates were distributing on all around them. The Bishops themselves, during this triumphant suffering, augmented the general favour by the most lowly submissive deportment ; and they still exhorted the people to fear God, honour the King, and maintain their loyalty ; expressions more animating than the most inflammatory speeches. And no sooner had they entered the precincts of the Tower than they hurried to chapel, in order to return thanks for those afflictions, which Heaven, in defence of its holy cause, had thought them worthy to endure.”

The second lesson, appointed by the Calendar for that evening's service, was so applicable to their circumstances that it was looked upon by the people as providential, to sustain their courage ; being 2 Cor. vi. *“ We then as workers together with Him, beseech you, &c. that in all things ye approve yourselves as the Ministers of God in much patience, in afflictions,*

in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings," &c. &c.

These words, no doubt, imparted to the prisoners a higher assurance of support than any sympathy of the people. They had their consolation from the same source as St. Paul and Silas, when they were thrust into the inner prison. On the next day but one, being Trinity Sunday, they all received the Holy Communion in the Tower Chapel. June 10.

The same State prison had formerly witnessed the sufferings of Lady Jane Grey, the accomplished Raleigh, and other victims of despotic power, whose names were still engraven on the walls. There, too, Archbishop Laud, and the ten Bishops, had been imprisoned, nearly half a century before, by order of the Long Parliament. In 1641 the Bishop of Bath and Wells was the victim of a Puritan democracy, which denounced him as "a Papal misleader, and altarian innovator:" and now his successor in the See was sent through the same "Traitor's Gate,"* charged as a promoter of sedition. One was imprisoned for signing a Petition to an intolerant House of Commons, the other for a Petition to an unjust tyrannical King: each in his day a sufferer for the same Church.

The Bishops were not consigned to solitude or neglect: the freedom of the Tower was granted to them within the walls, and their friends had leave to see them. Evelyn records his visit to the Archbishop and Ken.† Lord Clarendon also went to call upon

* "On through that *Gate misnam'd*, thro' which, before
Went Sidney, Raleigh, Russell, Cranmer, More." ROGERS.

† Diary, vol. ii. p. 275.

them, and found "multitudes of people going in and coming out."

"Persons of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, flocked thither in crouds, to proffer their services, and condole with them in their sufferings; to express their gratitude and admiration, and to exhort them to firm perseverance in the course they had so nobly begun. Among the rest, ten non-conforming ministers went to pay them a visit, which the King took so heinously that he sent for four of them to reprimand them; but their answer was, that they could not but adhere to the prisoners, as men constant and firm to the Protestant Faith. The very soldiers that kept guard would frequently drink good health to the Bishops. The constable sent orders to the captain of the guard to see that it was done no more: but the answer he received was, that they were doing it at the very instant, and would drink that, and no other health, whilst the Bishops were there." *

A letter from Dr. Nelson, written at the time, is very expressive of the general concern that was felt for them:

"Our spiritual Fathers," he says, "are under confinement: a trial of patience so great, that it were cruelty to expect we should not bemoan ourselves; but if it be a crime to lament, innumerable are the transgressors; for ever since the *Black Friday* sentence, the nobles of both sexes keep their constant court at the Tower, where every day vast multitudes of all conditions run perpetually, all in tears, to beg the holy men's blessings: the soldiers wait as mourners, and become so devout, that though the scene be truly sad, the end I hope will be the saving of many, and a glorious confirmation of the truth, and the sacredness of our religion, which seems to be now brought on a public stage, that all the world may see

more clearly her conformity to what the first Confessors embraced, and recommended so very tenderly to mankind's care and affection. Thanks be to God, who gives us Pastors that will not (nor by a criminal silence give others encouragement to) lead us astray. I need not tell you how much this integrity of the Bishops has served to convince their censurers of rash and uncharitable conceits, nor how sensible people grow of the fatal consequences of weakening the established Church by a humourous dread of her severity. I am willing to hope that the storme that's grown so loud, and seems still to denounce terrible things, will end in a glorious calme; it will do so to all that are wise and true of heart. To-morrow it's thought our illustrious Confessors will be sent for to Westminster; they will not be solitary there."*

Two days after the imprisonment of the Bishops, an event took place that filled the Palace with joy, but struck dismay into the hearts of the people;—the birth of a Prince of Wales. This caused the King's party to triumph in the prospect of a Romish succession,—on the other hand, it knit in closer bonds the whole energies of the country to reject the perpetuating a Popish rule. The authenticity of the birth was disbelieved: it was treated as an imposture—another Popish plot.—The most absurd stories were propagated to prove the child supposititious. The King was exasperated at so vile an accusation, reflecting dishonour on himself and the Queen. He calls it "a detestable calumny, of their having put a supposed Prince on the nation." Thus an event that generally cements the allegiance of subjects, widened still further the breach between himself and his people,

* State Trials, vol. xii. p. 465.

and, happening at such a moment, increased the general alarm for the safety of their religion. The Bishops were more than ever regarded as heroic champions for the truth of the Anglican Faith. "The whole Church," writes d'Adda, the Pope's Nuncio, "espouses the cause of the Bishops. There is no reasonable expectation of a division amongst the Anglicans, and our hopes from the Nonconformists are vanished."* James in his Memoirs says, "the birth of the Prince, as it was an argument of the greatest joy to the King and Queen, and to all those who wished them well, so it gave the greatest agonys imaginable to the generality of the kingdom."†

* Mackintosh's History of the Revolution, p. 253.

† Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 161.

END OF PART I.

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